

THE STANDARD

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

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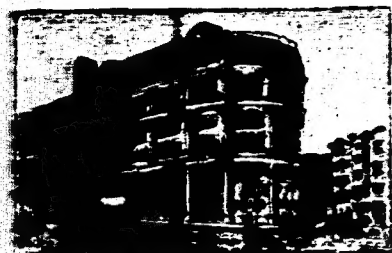
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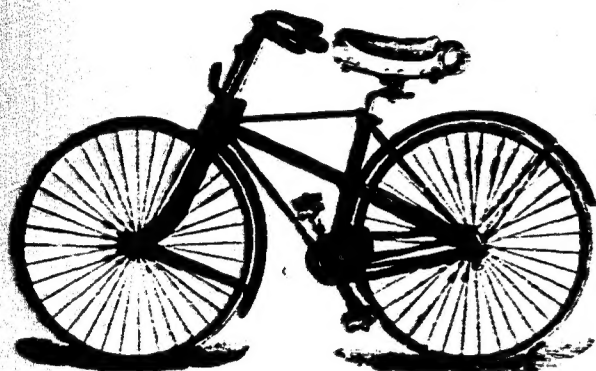
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THE STANDARD

PUBLISHED EVERY WEDNESDAY, AT NO. 42 UNIVERSITY PLACE.

VOL. X.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1891.

No. 23.

THE SPEAKERSHIP.—When the victory for Speaker Crisp was announced at his headquarters, so runs the New York Herald's report, the crowd there gave three cheers for Hill, Crisp, Sheehan, and Tammany. That crowd knew the significance of the result.

It is useless to disguise the truth. The reactionary and the self-seeking elements of the democratic party have captured it. Governor Hill, so recently "turned down," as we were innocently told, is in the lead—a figure of national prominence as a politician of wonderful skill and uninterrupted success, whose apparent defeats are but stepping stones to new triumphs. Tammany hall has advanced to a position that it was never able to reach, though well on the way toward it when the Tweed exposures ruined its leaders—a position of authority in the national councils of the party. And Cleveland, who alone of all presidential possibilities distinctively represents the progressive tariff reform policy, has no more chance than his coachman of securing the democratic nomination next summer, unless meantime there shall be in the great body of the party an upheaval that disintegrates or overwhelms the combination by which Mr. Crisp was lifted into the speaker's chair.

Mr. Crisp's personal fitness for his position is probably not open to criticism. Nor is there any reason to doubt his sincerity when in accepting the nomination he declared that this election meant no step backward in tariff reform. Some of his support was attracted by belief in his superior fitness, and confidence in his fidelity to democratic principles. But this support neither suggested his candidacy nor secured his nomination. The real power to which he is indebted, to which he must defer, and which has been concentrated and given momentum by his canvass and victory, is the favor of men like Brice and Gorman, who are protectionists, and Hill and the Tammany hall magnates, who are devoted to the service of personal ends.

When the great tariff reform victory was achieved in the elections of 1890, the eye of the country was turned toward Roger Q. Mills as the party leader whose leadership should be manifested by his elevation to the speaker's chair. Serene in their confidence that no other choice was possible, democrats from principle, Mills among them, devoted their attention to propagating democratic doctrines, while democrats for spoils began an intrigue. The intrigue has won.

Nevertheless, free traders may well congratulate themselves. The issue within the democratic party was definitely made in this contest. Crisp's supporters opposed Mills because he was a free trader; and Mills did not deny his faith, but carried it with him into the fight. The supporters of both men knew, the whole country recognized, that the free trade question was the issue. Had Mills been elected, his election would have been equivalent to a declaration in favor of free trade as the democratic policy. It would have been a matter of only a little more time and a little more agitation to incorporate it in the democratic platform next year. And though Mills failed of election, and free trade of triumph, free trade is not permanently set aside as the party policy. Its triumph now would have been more agreeable, and might have been better; but it is for us to consider what we have gained rather than what we might have gained.

Four years ago no pronounced free trader, whatever his personal merits and popularity, could have held a baker's dozen about him in a democratic caucus for the speakership. To have raised the cry of "free trader" against any candidate would have made an opposition that the most persistent denials and protests could hardly have allayed. Even a free trade candidate for doorkeeper would have been impossible. It is doubtful if there would have been much difference two years ago. But now, on the final vote when all hope of electing Mills was gone, 103 democratic members of Congress, in a total of 227, voted for the free trade candidate. This may not be a triumph for free traders, but it marks an advance against which the powers of darkness in the democratic party cannot long prevail.

AUSTRALASIAN POLITICS.—Readers of American newspapers scarcely realize what a great and growing world that is from which disjointed scraps of information, more or less accurate, are sometimes laid before them, and which they vaguely recognize as Australasia. It comprises the colonies of New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia, each with an independent government. The total area is 3,077,377 miles, or nearly that of all Europe; and the population, allowing for increase since the census, is more than 4,000,000. Population has grown at a rapid rate, and is still advancing marvellously. And it is a progressive population. The people of Australasia far surpass us in broad political sagacity, and their country is destined soon to figure prominently in making up the world's history. It is already engaged upon the work. Yet so little is known here of political development there, that when a crisis occurs our editors are completely at a loss to explain its significance. Not long ago one of the most astute among them obscurely printed as a mere letter to the editor what was in fact a piece of the most important news of current history.

We have undertaken to inform American readers regarding the political development of Australasia, and for that purpose have secured the services of the editor of a leading daily newspaper of New South Wales, whose first letter appears elsewhere.

IS EMPEROR WILLIAM A FOOL.—The Freisinnige Zeitung, of Berlin, an organ of the political party in Germany that most nearly resembles the advanced wing of the American democratic party, insists that on the occasion of the administration of the oath of allegiance to recruits of the Guard, Emperor William used this language:

Recruits, you have, before priest and altar, sworn fealty to me. You are too young to understand the true meaning of the words in which you have sworn, but be diligent in following the instructions which will be given you. You have, my children, sworn allegiance. That means that you have given yourselves to me, body and soul. You have only one enemy: that is my enemy. In the present socialist agitation I may order you, which God forbid, to shoot down your relatives—your brothers, even your parents—and you must obey without a murmur.

It is hard to believe that this can be true. Other speeches of the emperor have been misrepresented or misconstrued, and this one may have been. And yet the language harmonizes with his well known faith in the doctrine of "divine right." It does not harmonize, however, with the common sense that his career upon

the throne has in general proved him to possess. Perhaps nothing he could say would tend so strongly and rapidly to undermine his power at its source as the open expression of such sentiments; and of this he cannot be in ignorance. If he made that speech, it was the speech of a fool. He is not a fool.

REFORM CLUB REPORT.—The report of the tariff reform committee of the Reform club, printed in full on another page, is a concise, interesting, and encouraging presentation of work done and efforts yet to be made. The Reform club, though but four years old, has become a factor in national politics. Its membership extends into most of the states of the Union, and its active workers are young men, energetic, enthusiastic, and level-headed, not without honorable ambitions, but chiefly animated by thorough devotion to democratic principles. Good politics on the democratic side cannot be better promoted than through membership in this club.

TAMMANY A NATIONAL INSTITUTION.—Those of our readers in other states who have been inclined to regard our criticisms of Tammany hall and Governor Hill as discussions of local politics, of little or no interest to them, will probably open their eyes when they consider the speakership contest. Tammany hall has the people of New York in its clutches, and there is no escape short of a revolution in municipal politics. This, of course, does not interest outsiders. But Tammany hall, because democrats in the country counties of our state have looked upon it as an organization with which they had no concern, has now reached out and grasped, probably securely, the democratic party of the whole state. This, of course, does not interest democrats in other states. But because democrats in other states have taken only a curious and languid interest in the manoeuvres of Tammany hall, it has reached out still farther, and tried to sweep the national democratic organization into its control.

Tammany hall is a local club; but its aspirations are boundless. And if our friends in other states have not yet learned to read the mystic writing its local board of managers and their confederates have placed upon its banners, they will awaken some fine morning to find the democratic party of the United States where the democratic party of New York city now is, in an advanced stage of digestion in the Tammany tiger's stomach.

PROPOSED CHANGE OF PRICE.—We have been frequently assured that if THE STANDARD were published at one dollar a year instead of three, its circulation would vastly increase. We are inclined to think so, but are not sufficiently sanguine to take the risk without learning the views of our subscribers. Their views we have endeavored to obtain, and the results thus far are set out this week in Publisher's Notes, which we commend to the attention of all our readers.

THE INSANITY OF OUR PERIOD.—One day last week a stranger walked into the office of Russell Sage and demanded one million dollars or his life, and, when the money was refused, the stranger exploded a dynamite bomb. Mr. Sage escaped, but several people in his office were killed, and the stranger himself was blown into fragments. There is no doubt that the perpetrator of this wanton outrage was a maniac. As one of the daily papers puts it, he could not have been a robber, for robbers are not so ready to sacrifice their own lives; nor "an anarchist," for the "anarchist's" hatred of rich men is not because they refuse to part with money, but because they are too rich. The man who wrought this death and destruction was clearly a

maniac. But it would be well to ponder the fact that his form of insanity is the kind that our civilization, with its glaring instances of great wealth in the midst of grinding poverty, is calculated to develop.

GOVERNOR HILL'S PLATFORM.—Governor Hill has made a speech to the country, part of his plan of campaign for defeating Cleveland's nomination. He favors two propositions, one on money and one on the tariff. His money proposition is to establish "free bimetallic coinage," the free coinage of both gold and silver, each silver dollar to be worth when melted as much as the gold dollar when melted. His tariff proposition is the "repeal of the two McKinley acts, reviving the revenue laws then superseded."

By his free coinage proposition he means to mislead free coinage men into the belief that he is one of them. The effort to do this is transparent humbug that will deceive no silver coinage advocate; and the governor's financial philosophy so innocently ignores some of the simplest principles of coinage that from gold men and silver men alike it will only evoke a laugh.

But the tariff proposition is more serious. The democratic party has as yet no fixed policy. The drift is toward free trade; but protection dies hard, and protection influences within the party, backed by office seeking combinations, are still strong enough to make a turn of the tide possible. In such circumstances a plausible proposition, like the repeal of the McKinley laws, may invite disaster. Hill intends to invite disaster so far as the cause of free trade is concerned; and with those who are within the reach of his influence it is waste of space to argue against his proposition on the ground that it militates against free trade. But while the presidential nomination is in suspense he does not intend to invite disaster to the party. He wants that to win, so long as its victory may be his victory.

And to what a triumph he invites the party when he urges its congressmen to demand the "repeal of the two McKinley acts, reviving the revenue laws then superseded!" He forgets that one of the McKinley laws places sugar on the free list, the one popular feature of that measure, to which republican orators and papers point with satisfaction.

To repeal the McKinley acts without qualification, which would revive the protective tariff on sugar, would overwhelm the party that did it. Repeal the bounty, and only rich planters would complain. Repeal the president's autocratic power of enforcing or suspending duties at pleasure, and only Blaine, the author of that anomaly in legislation, would complain. Increase the free list, and the people would welcome the relief as they have welcomed the freeing of sugar. But to re-establish the protection that Cleveland assailed, and for assailing which he was supported by a majority of the popular vote and defeated for the presidency only by the introduction of some hundreds of thousands of dollars of Pennsylvania money into a rotten borough within Hill's political jurisdiction, is to go backward. And with the democratic party now to go backward is to court defeat.

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This organization offers the best plan for practical single tax work yet devised. It does not agitate for the single tax, but for a law that will allow every county to decide for itself whether to tax land values alone, or improvements alone, or personal property alone, or any two, or all three. No fair man can object to such a law. It will revive democracy in its best form.

The organization is as yet only provisional. The only clubs are in New York state, but it is believed that the movement will soon spread into other states. Following is the law which it is proposed to advocate:

AN ACT TO REGULATE ASSESSMENTS AND TO PROVIDE FOR HOME RULE IN COUNTY TAXATION.—The people of the state of New York, represented in senate and assembly, do enact as follows: Section 1. It shall be the duty of al

assessors and officers performing the duties of assessors, in assessing real property of any kind, to assess the value of land, separately from all buildings, fences, structures, drains, crops, plants, trees and other improvements thereon, and to state, in separate columns, the assessed value of the land and of the improvements.

Section 2. The board of supervisors in each county may, in its discretion, levy all taxes upon and in proportion to the assessed value of land alone, exclusive of improvements and of personal property, or upon the assessed value of personal property alone, or upon the assessed value of land, improvements and personal property together.

Section 3. Nothing in this act contained shall be construed as diminishing the proportion of the state tax, which any county might be required to pay into the state treasury, under existing laws, or under any laws which may be hereafter enacted; but in every county all real and personal property shall be assessed and returned in the manner now or hereafter prescribed by law; and any county in which the board of supervisors may exempt from taxation any species of property, by virtue of the power hereby conferred, shall nevertheless pay the same proportion of the state tax which it would be liable to pay if no such exemption were made.

Erie County has been organized, and Messrs. Crowe, Vaught and White are doing yeoman service. Kings County, under the direction of Messrs. McGinnis, Gage, Wolf, Lovell, Disbrow and Filmer is rapidly getting into line; Rockland County is in safe hands, Henry L. Hinton, having taking hold of it with determination. The provincial chairmen of the different counties are as follows: Albany, J. S. Crane, of Cohoes; Alleghany, F. M. Todd, of Cuba; Broome, John H. Blakeney, of Binghamton; Cattaraugus, G. J. Ball, of Olean, 20 Irving street; Cayuga, Edward Vanderbosch, of Auburn, 25 Franklin street; Cattaraugus, E. C. Cooley, of Dunkirk, 119 Swan street; Chenango, Rufus R. Wilson, of Elmira; Chenango, W. A. Babcock, of Smyrna; Clinton, L. S. Peltier, of Rouse's Point; Cortland, J. P. McCarthy, of Cortland, 55 Oswego street; Delaware, D. W. Earl, of Griffin's Corner; Dutchess, W. C. Albrow, of Poughkeepsie, 4 Garden street; Erie, G. A. Vaught, of Buffalo, 110 East Ferry street; Franklin, Frank LaClair, of Malone, Lock Box 809; Fulton, Dr. W. C. Wood, of Gloverville; Greene, John McIntosh, of Le Roy; Greene, Rome Adams, of Oak Hill; Herkimer, George E. Bedell, of Herkimer; Madison, T. W. Burnett, of Chittenango; Oneida, Joseph Joyce, of Utica, 6 Chatham street; Onondaga, E. K. McGuire, of Syracuse, 309 Greene street; Onondaga, C. V. Harbottle, of Syracuse, 1503 Grape street; Ontario, A. J. Gilbert, of Honeoye; Orange, George Winter, of Middletown, Empire Block; Oswego, James Ryan, of Oswego, 160 West First street; Otsego, A. M. Hollister, of East Springfield; Queens, P. C. Farrell, of Long Island City, 135 Jackson avenue; Rensselaer, James E. Moirer, of Troy, 143 First street; Richmond, A. B. Stoddard, of West New Brighton; Rockland, Henry L. Hinton, of Grand View-on-Hudson; St. Lawrence, E. T. Chancey, of Hermon; Saratoga, R. Feeney, of Ballston; Schenectady, Andrew Hutton, of Schenectady, 754 East Liberty; Schoharie, N. Van Buren, of Sharon Springs; Steuben, E. C. McTree, of Hornellsville; Suffolk, H. Fowler, of Northport; Tioga, William Minehan, of Oswego, 50 West Main street; Tompkins, C. C. Platt, of Ithaca; Ulster, T. M. Romeyn, of Kingston; Washington, F. S. Craft, of Fort Edward; Westchester, E. L. Ryder, of Sing Sing.

People interested in the movement are requested to write to the chairmen of their counties respectively. Petitions in favor of the bill, and blank constitutions for county or township leagues, can be had upon application to the general secretary, Benjamin D. Doblin, 73 Lexington avenue, New York City. If any reader of THE STANDARD knows how his recently elected assemblyman and senator stand on the proposed law, he should notify the secretary, and he should see or write to them and get from them an expression of opinion.

CLEVELAND AND THE ISSUE.

Last Thursday the Young Men's democratic club of Canton, Ohio, one of the most influential political organizations in the state, celebrated with a banquet the fourth anniversary of Grover Cleveland's tariff reform message. Covers were laid for 400. W. A. Lynch was toastmaster, and toasts were responded to as follows: "Welcome to Visitors," Mayor John T. Blake; "Our Commerce," J. T. Brown; "The Golden Rule in Politics," Prof. J. J. Burns; "The Message," John E. Monnet; "The Young Democracy," Manly Tello; "The Doubtful States," William A. Maline; "The Issues of 1892," S. D. Dodge; "The Tariff and the Farmer," J. V. Lewis; "The Old Roman," Atlee Pomerene; "The McKinley Bill," Judge Bladin; "Industrial Slavery," S. A. Russell; "The Democratic Ladies," J. A. Wakefield; "Grover Cleveland," Allen W. Thurman.

Letters of regret were read from Governor Campbell, of Ohio; Governor Russell, of Massachusetts; Governor Boies, of Iowa; Congressmen Harter, Johnson, Warwick, Wilson and others. Mr. Cleveland sent a letter, which was read amid enthusiastic cheering. Applause greeted every mention of the ex-president's name. Mr. Cleveland wrote:

I regret that I am unable to attend the meeting. The value and significance of this occasion, it seems to me, are found in the evidence it furnishes of a determination to push the issue of tariff reform in a practical and effective manner. It is the duty of the democratic party to do this, and expediency as well as duty forbids any backward step or faltering.

No party can succeed which deliberately relinquishes a principle on the eve of its vindication, and no party ought to succeed which, having led men to an honest examination of a question vital to their interest and welfare, abandons their guidance and leaves them in doubt and perplexity.

The confidence born of partial success and the assertion of the claims of any individual to party leadership ought not to divert us from the duty we owe to the people. Our obligation to them will not be discharged until in every hamlet and neighborhood throughout the land our cause is so presented to our countrymen that they can no longer be deceived through blunders nor corrupted through indifference.

OBITUARY.

In the week ending October 31, the Rev. Hugh Gilmore, of Adelaide, South Australia, died in that city of cancer of the stomach.

Mr. Gilmore was one of the world's great Christian preachers. Born somewhere in the underworld of Glasgow, in 1842, he said of his childhood: "My first recollections are of the busy streets of a large city; they were my home, my school, my playground. I lived in them, slept in them, played in them, starved in them, and nearly perished in them. Within a certain area I knew every lane and alley, every hole and corner, where the flagstones were warmest at every hour of the day, and the most sheltered nook when the winds blew piercing at night. I was thrown among the poorest of the poor, with whom were associated many of the offenders of society—the sinning and the sinned against."

Such a training as Mr. Gilmore's, if undergone by most of our average bishops, would tend to vitalize the human feelings within them, and ward off, to some extent, fatty degeneration of the pulpit. It made Mr. Gilmore the man-loving, brave, uncompromising scourge of wrong, and the sturdy apostle of right that he became. "My early contact with the poorest of the poor," he said, "excited in me a belief in the goodness of human nature and a sympathy for men as men, independent of their circumstances." That sympathy was the secret of the great power for good that he exercised.

The story of his early years in Scotland and the north of England was the record of a struggle to live, and to live down the disadvantages of a miserable youth. He became a Wesleyan Methodist preacher, burning with the true apostolic fire, and flung himself into every social movement tending to public good. The Irish tenants knew him, and the Scotch crofters blessed one who dared champion their rights against deer and land owners.

He came to Adelaide in 1889, broken in health, but with a reputation which drew to him audiences of a class often rendered indifferent to the religion of the churches. He showed that he was in earnest always, fighting for the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. And in his denunciation of land monopoly and class robbery of every kind, he did more than is given to most men to do in helping the realization of his creed.

It is years since any colony has been so profoundly stirred by a man's death as South Australia was by his. In Adelaide, the day of his funeral seemed a day of public calamity. Thousands upon thousands of all classes stood uncovered in the streets, and the procession of mourners included the trade organizations, single tax men, and all who, sympathizing with a great life of sleepless endeavor, could show their respect for the dead in this way.

In the brief period of his Adelaide life Mr. Gilmore gave the single tax movement a great impetus.

ANNUAL MEETING OF REFORM CLUB.

The annual meeting of the Reform club was held at the club house, Twenty-seventh street and Fifth avenue, on the 1st of December. E. Ellery Anderson presided. Isidor Straus and Edward B. Whitney were elected trustees, vice H. B. B. Stapler and Horace Deming. From the secretary's report it appeared that the resident membership is over 900 and the non-resident membership over 1,100.

The most interesting report was that of the Tariff reform committee, Hon. John DeWitt Warner, chairman. This report showed that in New York city, under the sub-chairmanship of Mr. Stapler, the resident members of the club have been classified according to their home or voting residence, and a general plan adopted looking to the establishment in each congressional district of a local tariff reform club, self-supporting and furnishing all ordinary club facilities, except, perhaps, those of a restaurant. Three districts, the seventh, tenth and eleventh, it was arranged to provide with these clubs at once.

In New York state at large, under Jason Hinman's direction, effective work was reported. The following is taken from his report:

I. POLL CANVASS.—Your sub-committee has completed and is now in possession of a complete poll of the voters of the state, with the possible exception of three or four small election districts, and with the exception of the following counties and cities, of which no canvass was undertaken: New York and Kings counties, the cities of Albany, Cohoes, Binghamton, Auburn, Elmira, Buffalo, Rochester, Utica, Syracuse, Long Island City, Troy and Schenectady.

This poll shows a total of 697,661 voters, as to each of whom it gives, as far as it is possible to schedule in brief form, his post office address, politics, opinion on the tariff, whether or not he was a soldier in the late war, his nationality, his general occupation and particular branch of occupation. The voters in each county, as scheduled in this canvass, have been counted and classified as farmers, laborers, traders, mechanics, commercial manufacturers, professional, public officials and unclassified.

II. DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE.—Since the 1st of January, 1891, your sub-committee has mailed to voters scheduled in the poll referred to 372,504 numbers of "Tariff Reform," as per schedules submitted, and

mainly in the counties of Allegany, Cattaraugus, Cayuga, Chautauqua, Chemung, Oneida, St. Lawrence, Steuben, Tioga and Ulster.

III. COUNTY CAMPAIGNS.—Since the first of January your sub-committee has carried on eight systematic county campaigns, holding 12 meetings in Chautauqua county, 10 meetings in Cayuga county, 18 meetings in Steuben county, 5 joint debates in St. Lawrence county, 11 meetings in Chemung county, 12 meetings in Tioga county, 16 meetings in Oneida county, 11 meetings in Ulster county, six of them joint debates—a total of 95 meetings, including 11 joint debates, which were attended by over 20,000 voters. As usual, the American Protective Tariff league not merely failed to respond at all to most of the challenges issued for joint discussion, but, after having promised Mr. Horr to meet Mr. Wilber for a series of those meetings in St. Lawrence county, and having named Hon. William McKinley as Mr. Harter's opponent at Auburn, on June 3d, and Hon. Robert W. Taylor to oppose Mr. Vinton and Mr. Bennett in Ulster county, on the 11th, 12th and 13th of June, it substituted Mr. Horr for Mr. McKinley at Auburn, failed entirely to produce Mr. Taylor, and produced Mr. Horr at only three of the six meetings at which he had permitted himself to be advertised. The Protective Tariff league's idea of the situation was shown by the fact that at the same time the protectionists were advised to stay away from tariff discussions it was sending batches of documents to the postmasters in the several localities, with the request that they distribute them through the post office boxes where they would do the most good—a violation of the law which was not in all cases carried out by the few Cleveland postmasters that were yet left in office.

IV. COUNTY FAIR DEBATES.—Your sub-committee made no effort to organize joint debates at county fairs in this state in the present year, but held itself ready to supply speakers for such debates wherever debates were asked for. Seven joint debates were held as follows:

Auburn, Cayuga county, June 3d; protectionist debater, Hon. Roswell G. Horr; tariff reform debater, Hon. Michael D. Harter.

Whitney's Point, Broome county, September 2d; protectionist debater, Mr. John Ford; tariff reform debater, Hon. Mark D. Wilber.

Fonda, Montgomery county, September 2d; protectionist debater, Hon. D. G. Harriman; tariff reform debater, Mr. J. B. Chapman.

Angelica, Allegany county, September 10th; protectionists defaulted; tariff reform representative, Hon. Michael D. Harter, who spoke to the farmers.

Troupsburg, Steuben county, September 11th; protectionists defaulted; tariff reform representative, Hon. Mark D. Wilber, who spoke to the farmers.

Boonville, Oneida county, September 11th; protectionist debater, Mr. Walbur F. Wakeman; tariff reform debater, Mr. John Brooks Leavitt.

Windsor, Broome county, September 17th; protectionist debater, Mr. N. N. Leyman; tariff reform debater, Mr. Harvey N. Shepard.

A debate was also arranged to take place at Afton, Chenango county, on September 22d, and the Hon. John E. Russell was present to represent the Reform club, but the protectionists defaulted and no debate was held.

V. ORGANIZATION OF COMMITTEES.—In connection with the systematic county campaigns local tariff reform committees were organized in various counties of the state, many of which did effective work in stirring up local interest in the discussion of the tariff question, and assisted your sub-committee materially in its work by correcting and bringing down to date the polls of the towns in which the committees were located, and in forwarding to your sub-committee special lists of voters whom it seemed desirable to make special efforts to reach through the distribution of appropriate literature.

As last year, there have been occasional signs of a timidity among Democrats on the tariff issue, or more frequently of a suspicious resentment on the part of petty local leaders against any attempt at agitation not fathered by themselves; but, as has been our experience heretofore, this has deprived us of but little co-operation that would have been worth much in any event, and has amounted to open opposition only in one case, that at Saugerties. Here the attempt of the local representative of the county organization to prevent the holding of a meeting by sending out handbills announcing a postponement, resulted in the Reform club distributing a counter circular, engaging a band and getting out a much larger audience than would probably have been secured by the help of Mr. "Pidgeon," the appropriately named gentleman concerned, who woke up to find that he had attempted to interfere with a series of meetings, the first two of which had been opened under the patronage of the chairman of his county committee.

Work in other states, under Henry de Forest Baldwin as chairman of the sub-committee in charge, appears to be, in many respects, more important, comprehensive and interesting than in any previous year. During the fore part of the year efforts were mainly directed to perfect the system of co-operation through which, in many parts of the country, tariff reform work last year was assisted. The following are some of the different items in this report:

In Iowa revision has been fairly commenced of poll lists made last year, and the efficient organization then effected for the greater part of the state extended to every part of it.

In Minnesota, Wisconsin and Illinois arrangements were made by which, local committees attending to thorough poll canvasses of those states, we have arranged to receive copies and in return to distribute literature to such extent as opportunities shall warrant.

In Nebraska an agent of the sub-committee has superintended the starting of a poll canvass in that state, the greater part of the work being done by interested individuals and local committees in the several counties; this as a preparation for systematic circulation of selected literature.

In Iowa, Rhode Island, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky we have had carefully compiled lists of local friends upon whom we can rely in each county and practically in each election district in those states.

As the season progressed it became plain that the main political contest of the year in which the issue of tariff reform was involved were those in Iowa, Ohio and Massachusetts. We promptly arranged to co-operate with campaign and other local committees, both in regard to literature and speakers. Of literature we distributed in Iowa through the mails to selected lists of voters above 60,000 copies of "Tariff Reform" and furnished a speaker at fifty-nine meetings during the campaign. In addition to this members of the sub-committee co-operated in securing subscriptions for a limited fund for special work in that state by local committees—the sub-committee itself declining to be responsible (except by commendation of the agencies chosen) for work to which it could not undertake to attend in detail.

In Ohio we distributed in the same manner about 42,000 copies of tariff reform literature, and furnished speakers for sixty meetings.

In Massachusetts we furnished speakers for twenty-five meetings, and, as in the case of Iowa, members of the sub-committee co-operated in the raising of special funds to be furnished local committees in Massachusetts—this upon conditions similar to those upon which was raised the special fund for Iowa above noted.

In each case the extended and complimentary character of the press notices of the Reform club speakers has been followed by the fullest acknowledgment on the part of local and state committees of the extraordinary effectiveness of the service thus rendered by the club to the tariff reform cause, while from every quarter in which literature has been distributed has come the testimony that it was most effective, and urgent requests that we arrange to continue and extend the distribution.

In addition to supplying literature for Iowa and Ohio as above noted, more or less has been sent to every state on request, or to special lists. For example, to Connecticut 1,700 copies, to Georgia 1,550, to Illinois 600, to

Kentucky 2,800, to Massachusetts 1,600, to Michigan 8,400, to Nebraska 1,200, to New Hampshire 650, to Pennsylvania 1,000, to Utah 10,800, and to other states in smaller amounts, making the total amount of literature distributed, under the special direction of the sub-committee, on other states, some 175,000 copies.

The sub-committee on press, Walter S. Page, chairman, reported:

During the present year the work of the Committee on press has been with the lines upon which it was settled early in 1890, its main aim being the supply, through existing news agencies, of "patent inside" and "plate" matter on tariff questions to local newspapers all over the country, aggregating about a thousand in number, and averaging, perhaps, a million circulation. Most of these are weeklies.

The very extent to which this service has been effectively systematized, and is smoothly working, leaves but little to report. There still remain the more important weekly papers and a large proportion of the daily papers of the smaller cities that never use patent inside matter, and rarely, if ever, are sent out in plates. Of these we have roughly calculated there are at least five hundred in the United States (a large proportion of them being in New York state) that would gladly use each a considerable amount of timely tariff reform matter, provided it could be sent them in typewritten manuscript. The preparation of this matter is evidently a task of much higher grade and greater complexity than the getting of current tariff items or discussions for papers we now supply. The statistician of the committee has so far completed his general series of tariff reform discussions, that not merely is he fitted by a broad experience, but will soon be able to devote himself to collating the special new matter required. As roughly outlined our plan involves:

First. Scanning the prospects of tariff discussion, to select the subjects and the points upon which to force the fight, roughly arrange the order in which they should be presented, and classify the new list of periodicals to be dealt with, according to the extent to which each may be expected to use matter we wish circulated.

Second. To study each of the industries and points of tariff discussion, in which are interested any considerable number of the localities in which the several papers are printed, then to arrange these papers in groups of those interested in the same subject.

Third. To prepare matter, such as we particularly wish given circulation—in articles say of two or three different grades of condensation, to meet the varying requirements of the papers to whom the articles are to be sent.

Fourth. To compile a series of articles upon each of the industries or tariff points in which any group of papers are interested.

Fifth. Having duplication of copy made to the necessary extent, to send (generally at regular intervals) to each paper (a) the particular discussions to which we wish general currency given, in the form and to the extent we judge it will prefer them; and (b) the special matter, which, on account of local circumstances, we believe will be most welcome.

There still remain other steps definitely outlined in earlier reports of this sub-committee. We have not abandoned either of these plans, but believe the step now proposed and outlined above is the natural and necessary preliminary to successfully pushing those yet to be undertaken.

As to preparation and circulation of literature by the sub-committee, of which Everett Abbot is chairman, the following report was read:

During the last few months of 1890 funds were not available for work planned then to be done; and as a result several numbers of "Tariff Reform" dated in that year, including "Glass and the Tariff," "Piano Making and the Tariff," and the "Comparison, Item by Item, of the Tariff of 1883, That Proposed by the Mills Bill, and the McKinley Tariff"—the last named involving far more labor and expense than any other number of those included in the 1890 volume—were prepared and printed in the early part of this year.

In addition to those, the following numbers of Volume IV., dated in this year, have already been issued: "Who Pays Tariff Taxes?" (an illustrated number), "Wall Paper and the Tariff," "Brewing and the Tariff," "The Drawback Humbug," "Hats and the Tariff," "Pottery and the Tariff," "Tinned Plate and the Tariff," "Silver and Protection," "Bottling and the Tariff," "Sugar and the Tariff," "Iron, Steel and Tariffs," "The McKinley Tariff, Its History, Jobs and Effects," "Protection" (a summary discussion in forty four pages of each of thirty tariff questions, selected with a view to including those most mooted), "Gloves and the Tariff," "United States Tariff History," "The Real Issue" (a discussion of the present political situation), and "Death in the Tariff Pot" (mainly on the question of shoddy and other bogus woolsens).

The issue of the tariff reform "Red Book" for 1890 was so generally welcomed, and its utility so fully demonstrated, that a new edition, comprising nearly twice the matter included in the first one, with table of contents and index as before, was prepared in time to serve as a tariff reform campaign cyclopedia for writers and speakers in October last. This edition has met with even greater favor than that shown the edition of 1890; we are in constant receipt of calls for it and proposals for purchases in quantities, all of which confirms our recommendation that the edition for 1892 be pushed to completion, so that it can be furnished as early as April next. The matter now prepared and preparing for publication, added to that already issued by the club, can thus be utilized to make a volume more extensive, complete and detailed on questions of tariff reform than has heretofore been at the service of political writers and speakers for campaign work.

We have kept in operation during the year a supply bureau through which, in answer to correspondence from all parts of the country, we have furnished tariff reform literature to those who wished to purchase it. In addition, through the mailing office, we have met the requisitions of other sub-committees for literature to be sent out, a memorandum of most of which will be found included in their reports. During the year, including that sent out on our own account and that thus distributed on account of other committees, we have sent out nearly 500,000 copies of different numbers of "Tariff Reform" issues, besides carrying on a voluminous correspondence and supplying a great quantity of other miscellaneous tariff reform literature on special order.

Following is the finance statement of the tariff reform committee for the year down to the 16th of November:

RECEIPTS.	
Treasurer Reform club—non-resident dues.....	\$6,500.00
Individual subscriptions.....	21,358.00
Balance from 1890.....	176.26
Miscellaneous receipts.....	519.64
	<hr/>
	\$28,553.90

DISBURSEMENTS.	
Paid out for old debts.....	\$5,529.70
Paid out for new work.....	23,017.66
	<hr/>
	\$28,547.36
	<hr/>
Balance on hand.....	\$6.54

As to the future, the committee reported the outlook now is that the presidential campaign during the year 1892 will be more hotly and systematically contested than any other since the foundation of our government, and that, by common consent, tariff reform issues will be almost exclusively those upon which the battle will be fought. The situation, therefore, is one of almost boundless opportunities and responsibilities for the Reform club. In this city the plan of congressional district organizations should be carried out, a tariff reform school kept in operation upon a more extended plan

than that of 1890, literature furnished to the varied classes of city voters, and speakers supplied for local meetings. It is impracticable now to estimate the extent of work and reasonable expense involved. It is enough to say that it is so great as to make the question one not of, What should be done? but, How much of what obviously should be done can the Reform club hope to accomplish? Ten thousand dollars at least should be expended in this city during the coming year, and twice that amount could be effectively and economically used here.

As to the state at large, the sub-committee recommends that some 400 tariff reform meetings be held, at least 100 joint debates arranged for, and a half million copies of tariff reform literature distributed—this in addition to whatever may be the share of the club in general campaign work. These recommendations are reasonable and would involve a probable expenditure of \$30,000; while, with comparatively no greater strain upon the committee, \$10,000 more could, and perhaps should, be spent in the distribution of literature alone.

The committee on other states asks that at least two speakers be constantly at its disposal, and that it be allowed to circulate gratuitously at least 1,000,000 copies of literature in localities where it is impracticable to arrange for compensation for the literature furnished. This is rather below than above what should be done through this sub-committee during the next year, and, with incidental expenses, would involve an expenditure of at least \$15,000.

The work of the committee on press should be developed upon the lines already suggested and in part exploited; the tariff reform "Red Book" for 1892 should be at once completed, and the sub-committee on distribution of literature authorized to undertake much more extensive work than heretofore. In great part, the gross expenses involved would be met by sales of literature; but for the combined expenses of the committee on press and on preparation and distribution of literature (outside of those involved in filling orders included in above estimates for other sub-committees) at least \$5,000 should be available.

We are fortunate in being able again to point to the fact that results show the energies and the expenditures of this committee to have been made in lines of successful work. The opportunities of the coming year are those for which the whole course of political events for the last ten years and each step of progress made in the club's work have been specially preparing us. To meet these even measurably will require the best efforts of those who shall constitute this committee, all co-operation possible on the part of our friends, both inside and outside the Reform club, and an expenditure of at least \$40,000.

DEMOCRACY IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE.

SYDNEY, New South Wales, November 2.—Adelaide is becoming a centre of democratic activity, appearing in proportion to population to surpass in that respect any other Australian city. So great and glaring is the evil of land monopoly in South Australia that even the most conservative politicians of that colony are becoming alive to the necessity for legislation of some kind. Proposals have been made and are now under consideration for the resumption by government purchase of privately owned areas on the death of the owners, which I need not give you details of. It is quite enough to say that they do not embody any distinct and equitable principle of resumption, but are offerings made in the name of expediency by legislative ignorance to popular ignorance. The politicians recognize the growing feeling against land monopoly, and finding it imperative to do something, choose, as usual, to do anything rather than what is right. But they will be pushed forward by the shoulders of the people presently. The South Australian masses—if one can so speak of the comparative handful of people crying out for room to live and work in in one corner of an empty continent—begin to know what is the matter and will speak to the politicians in a way calculated to make them sit up and hearken by-and-by. The great wave of rising labor power which began with the general election in New Zealand last year and swept over and submerged the old political ardor in this colony, has reached South Australia. There labor has made a beginning by unexpectedly returning to the legislative council (the colonial house of lords) seven out of nine members at by elections. The franchise for the council is confined to freeholders to the value of £50, leaseholders to that of £20, or occupants of houses of the value of £25.

New Zealand has not accomplished so very much in the way of legislative reform as was expected from the influx of industrial blood to the legislature. But that is largely because very much was not attempted and because a nominal upper chamber, against which vengeance is being threatened, blocked the way. The labor party introduced and carried through the house of representatives a number of measures which are mostly of a regulative character and do not constitute any vital reform. The most important of these were establishing "one man one vote" the sole basis of manhood suffrage—as existing previously, every man had but one vote, but there was optional manhood or property franchise—and the removal of the power to purchase land from the perpetual leasehold bill. Under this bill now, as was the original intention, the tenant must remain a leaseholder of the state. The proposal to extend full voting power and power to sit in Parliament to women was carried in the lower house by an immense majority and rejected by the council—only by one vote, however, if I remember rightly. The worst thing that was done, perhaps, was the incorporation of a property tax in the bill that taxed land values. This indiscriminately clutched for the state sixpence in the pound on all incomes over £500 to £1,000, and one shilling in the pound beyond £1,000. It has already caused the largest commercial corporation in the colony, the Union Steamship Company, to consider shifting their headquarters to some of the other colonies. Thus are good and evil mixed, and the power to effect reform wasted and thrown away through want of a thorough knowledge of principles.

Victoria is just now chiefly troubled about the raising of a six million loan at 4 per cent., to find state employment at constructing public works for people who, if there was any merit in a 30 per cent. tariff, should have had state employment in plenty. Queensland is extremely depressed also, in spite, or because, of its adoption, a couple of years ago, of the protective system, and because the aftermath of the great shearing strike is with it. In all the colonies, save New South Wales, which holds the key of the position, federation has been under legislative discussion, and some amendments have been proposed upon the convention resolutions. Practically, they are now waiting to see what this colony, the mother of the federation movement and the firstling in every sense of the group, is going to do about it.

And now I come to the political position in New South Wales. For

years past legislation has been retarded by the fiscal question. New South Wales calls itself a free trade country by a somewhat more defective title than that of Great Britain even. One party wished to hold and extend what freedom we have, the other wanted us to abandon sensible, productive work and go to quarrying stone to build a Chinese wall for keeping out what most of us want to have come in. At the general election in 1889 the members were evenly balanced—so evenly, that for a few days Mr. Dibbs, the protectionist leader here, held the fort with a ministry who came into office with the death rattle in their patriotic throats. The usual political dalliance with measures and party squabbling for official loaves and fishes went on upon the old lines till the ministry of Sir Henry Parkes was overthrown. Just then the labor wave struck this part of Australia, and down went the captain and down went the crew. The issues between the old parties were provincial protection, federation, and inter-state free trade. The trades unions, represented by the Labor Electoral League, which now has active branches nearly everywhere, ran separate candidates on a separate platform. That platform, while consisting chiefly of the orthodox "labor" planks about eight hours legislation, factory acts, and other comparatively small matters, had one plank which pledged its members to support the taxation of land values—no feeble-toned declaration, but one embodying a square, honest demand for access on equal terms to natural opportunities. Over thirty labor members were returned on this ticket, enough to hold the balance of power between the old parties, whose members were slightly in favor of the protectionists. The labor members threw in their weight with Sir Henry Parkes, whose ministry held power until three weeks ago. It could have still held power but for a bungle on the part of the labor members, who voted against an adjournment to consider the recommitment of the coal mines regulation bill, a vote which the premier accepted as one of want of confidence.

Consequently, we are, as I write, on the eve of a ministerial election, in which Mr. Dibbs asks to receive the country's sanction as a provincial protectionist. He will not get it. The labor party in parliament have determined that until other questions which they have raised are disposed of that of the tariff shall not be discussed. They have held to this decision in spite of several attempts to raise it during the past session. So Mr. Dibbs, who wants to set protection before all other business, goes to his doom. Sir Henry Parkes's movements are doubtful. He is old, and has suffered much physically from a severe accident; he is tired, and he has been roughly squeezed by the labor party. His complete retirement from political life will, probably, soon take place. In that event, his mantle is like to fall upon Mr. G. H. Reid. Mr. George will remember Mr. Reid, who was his chairman at his last address in Sydney. If this takes place a third party, consisting of the labor members, the radical free traders of the old party, and the discontented elements of the protectionist parliamentary party will be formed. Such a combination would be strong, democratic, and progressive, more likely to hold office and to go to land values for revenue than any other that could arise.

The publication of an abstract of Mr. George's reply to the Pope's encyclical letter has been commenced in the Saturday issues of the Daily Telegraph. It has already had a great effect on the public mind and has brought the subject once more to the very forefront of popular thought, as did Mr. George's visit here.

JOHN FARRELL.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

DOMESTIC.

Sir Julien Pauncefote is seeking by conferences with the state department to arrange a reciprocity treaty between the United States and the British West Indian colonies.

It is now known that among members of the syndicate to purchase the Cooper-Hewitt iron works in New Jersey are Senator Jones, of Nevada; John W. Mackay, General C. C. Dodge, the Duke of Marlborough, and Colonel North, the "nitrite king." The capital stock is \$5,000,000, and the property to be controlled is enormously valuable.

The United States consul general at St. Petersburg says that a scheme very like the Farmers' alliance sub-treasury plan has been working well in Russia for nearly four years.

Last week an unknown lunatic demanded \$1,250,000 in cash of Russell Sage, the Wall street millionaire, and on Sage's refusing the money, carried out a threat to drop dynamite on the office floor. The office and nearby offices were wrecked. The would-be assassin was killed, Sage's private secretary was fatally injured, and several others were more or less seriously wounded. Mr. Sage escaped with a few cuts and bruises, and shredded clothing.

David B. Hill in a speech at Elmira declared that free bimetallic coinage must be made the democratic war-cry along with tariff reform.

Postmaster-General Wanamaker reports the postal revenue of the fiscal year at \$63,931,785, and the expenditure at \$72,069,114.

Charles F. Crisp was chosen speaker of the new house of representatives by the democratic caucus on the thirtieth ballot. He is a protectionist democrat from Georgia. Both houses met at noon, December 7. Davidson and Call both claim the vacant seat in the senate for Florida. Governor Hill did not present himself.

Secretary of the Treasury Foster is seriously ill.

FOREIGN.

According to the Freisinnige Zeitung, a liberal organ of Berlin, Emperor William on swearing in recruits for the guards a week ago told them that the oath made them his, body and soul, and that they might possibly in the socialist agitation be called upon to shoot down their relatives.

There are shocking revelations of cruelty and vice on the part of young Earl Russell, of England, in his wife's pending suit for divorce.

Dom Pedro, former emperor of Brazil, died at Paris, aged 66.

France has issued a decree admitting American pork.

Latest reports from the recent earthquakes in Japan put the dead at 7,560; injured, 10,120; houses destroyed, 89,630; damaged, 28,625; persons made homeless, 440,000.

OBJECT LESSONS.

This department contains facts, gathered from all parts of the world, that are of current interest and permanent value, and illustrate social and political problems. Information from trustworthy sources is solicited.

VICTORIA AND NEW SOUTH WALES COMPARED.

Robert Jones writes from Victoria as follows: During the last twenty years Victoria has been making a great experiment. She pinned her faith to protection, and we are now in a position to test the value of that system by comparing its result with those obtained in New South Wales, where a much larger measure of freedom has prevailed.

The advocates of protection maintained that the imposition of customs duties would greatly check, and perhaps entirely prevent the importation of manufactured articles, and would thus compel us to rely upon ourselves instead of upon foreign countries for our supplies. Let us examine these claims by the light of experience. Hayter gives the following figures:

	Imports.	Exports.
Victoria, 1866.....	£14,771,711	£12,889,546
" 1889.....	24,402,760	12,734,734

Thus in twenty-three years the value of our imports increased by the enormous sum of nearly £10,000,000. Have we been relying chiefly upon ourselves then or upon foreign countries? And what explanation can be given of the miserable state of our exports? Instead of increasing enormously, their value was not even maintained, but fell by £154,812. Had they increased like our imports a greatly increased amount of employment would have been given in the various operations of producing, storing, carrying, clerking and shipping them.

From these figures let us turn to those of New South Wales:

	Imports.	Exports.
1866.....	£9,403,192	£9,913,839
1889.....	22,546,233	23,254,151

Here we see exports more than doubling their value instead of decreasing, as in Victoria, while imports are well balanced by exports.

Clearly, then, protection does not encourage exports nor does it prevent imports from increasing enormously.

Protectionists like Mr. Trenwith can give no explanation of the miserable state of Victorian exports, but they declare that the vast increase in imports is easily accounted for. They say that while our imports as a whole have increased, those of manufactured articles have decreased, the difference being made up by increased imports of pineapples and other luxuries which cannot be produced here. Let us examine these statements. Here are a few more figures from Hayter:

Imports.	1879.	1889.	Increase.
Apparel and slops.....	£282,298	£473,984	£191,686
Woolens.....	701,292	969,412	268,120
Machinery.....	86,264	448,370	362,106
Metal—manufactured.....	70,315	349,430	279,115
Furniture.....	36,161	149,738	113,577
Cottons.....	534,124	952,262	418,138
Hatterdashery.....	210,338	383,837	173,499
Earthen and china ware.....	61,103	147,451	86,348
Glass and glassware.....	102,487	236,364	133,877
Nails and screws.....	31,692	55,155	23,463
Carpets, etc.....	43,214	124,951	81,737
Hosiery.....	107,232	156,177	48,945
Hardware and ironmongery.....	98,142	267,026	168,884
Paper.....	179,505	361,626	182,121

These figures show that the imports of all these manufactures, so far from decreasing, have very largely increased. This protectionist idea turns out like most of its fellows to be a mere delusion.

But protection gives employment, we are told. Let us examine that, too. As we have seen, the exports of the two colonies in 1889 were, Victoria, £12,734,734; New South Wales, £23,254,151. It is clear, then, that the exports of New South Wales must have given employment to a much larger number of men than were similarly employed in Victoria. Exports have to be made or grown, stored, carried, noted and shipped.

Again, people settle most freely where work is most abundant. In which colony has population increased the faster?

	1866.	1889.	Increase.	In. per C't.
Victoria.....	636,982	1,118,028	481,046	75.51
New South Wales....	428,813	1,122,300	693,487	161.69

Thus in 1866 when Victoria adopted protection her population was more than 200,000 ahead of that of New South Wales, but far from maintaining this enormous lead, which amounted to nearly half the then population of New South Wales, she steadily lost it, till in 1889 New South Wales had overtaken and passed her. New South Wales had increased her population more than twice as fast as Victoria. Hayter gives another table showing the rate of increase from the census of 1871 to that of 1881 to be: Victoria, 15.38; New South Wales, 44.74; the latter being nearly three times the former.

The reason is plain. New South Wales has furnished more employment than Victoria because she encourages those industries that are suitable to her climate and resources, instead of hampering them with heavy duties, which increase the price of the machinery, the materials, the implements, the clothes, etc., of those who engage in them. By thus encouraging the farmer, miner, builder, sailor, wharf laborer, and all the army of commercial men and shopkeepers, to say nothing of school teachers, doctors, architects and other professional classes, she gives the maximum of employment.

Victoria, on the other hand, heavily oppresses all these workers in the vain hope of establishing industries which are either unsuitable to her climate and resources or require for their successful working a larger population or greater wealth than she has at present. She thus furnishes the minimum of employment, as her working classes are commencing to discover. The farmer and his friends in distress, the miner, sailor, builder, etc., have been cheerfully bearing their heavy burdens under the impression that by so doing they were maintaining a vast number of industries

which were giving employment, at high wages, to enormous numbers of happy artisans. They now find that this is a delusion, and that the numbers thrown out of work by protection are much greater than those who find work by its aid. And they see that many protected industries are the very reverse of flourishing. They see the woolen mills, for instance, after all these years of constantly increasing duties, a miserable failure, giving employment, at very moderate wages, to less than 900 persons. They see that Victoria is driving away her farmers, miners, etc., by greatly increasing the prices of the machinery, implements and materials which they must use. That this is so is clearly seen from the fact that Melbourne merchants are forced to charge much higher rates for all dutiable goods, if delivered in Victoria, than if sent to New South Wales, because, in the latter case they either get a drawback or sell in bond.

The following list of prices, charged by a Melbourne house, will be a revelation to those who think that protection does not increase prices.

MELBOURNE PRICES OF IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

	In bond.	Delivered in Victoria.
Eight H. P. engine.....	£265	£325
Thresher.....	275	330
Double furrow plough.....	6 15s.	7 10s.
Chaff cutter.....	5 15s.	6 10s.
Scarifier.....	11	12
Reaper and binder (duty free).	65	65

As there is no duty on reapers and binders there is no difference in the two prices. In all other cases the New South Wales farmer has a great advantage over his Victorian brother.

Thus we see that New South Wales is increasing her population, her imports and her exports enormously faster than Victoria. Farmers, miners, etc., can buy their implements, machinery, etc., there at far lower rates than in Victoria, and are attracted there. And lastly, wages there, instead of falling to the Chinese level, are as high as in Victoria.

Why, then, should we continue to bear the heavy burden of protection? Free worship, free speech, free press, free union, free suffrage, have all led to glorious results, and so will free trade. Freedom is the true goddess of democracy.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS.

NOT INDEPENDENT OF LABOR.

J. Edson, of Chicago, referring to the answer to Mr. Shakel's questions in a recent issue, quotes us as saying that "some forms of capital, having been once directed by labor, continue to improve without further labor," the improvement being "part of the wages of past labor," and asks: "How can that improvement which results independently of labor be in any sense the wages of labor?"

We must ask Mr. Edson to re-read what we said. We distinctly stated that this improvement did not result independently of labor, but in consequence of labor applied in certain directions.

DESTRUCTION OF LAND VALUES.

Philip G. Boulton, of Brooklyn, wants to know if the exchange value of unimproved land would entirely disappear under the single tax, and gives this example to illustrate his meaning: Would a piece of unimproved land that to-day has a market value of \$50,000 have any market value if the single tax were in operation.

If the single tax were in perfect ideal operation, no; land would not have any capitalized value. It would still have an annual value, but the annual tax payment required would be to a penny equal to the value of the annual advantage. Therefore, there would be nothing to capitalize. Ideal perfection however cannot be expected, and it is probable that valuable land in use would always be worth somewhat more than the value of its improvements. Land held out of use would not be, however; for the tax, though far short of ideal perfection, would be high enough to make it unprofitable long to hold the land out of use. It would soon be put to use if exceptionally desirable, or thrown into common if not.

WHY IS NOT VALUABLE LAND USED?

J. H. Root, of State College, Penn., has been puzzled by a question asked him in substantially the same form by two radically different skeptics. One questioner is an outright free trader, free silver coinage man, and prohibitionist, who appreciates the injustice of existing social conditions; the other is perfectly satisfied with things as they are, believing that any man who really wants to work can find profitable work to do. This is the question: How can it be said that valuable land is withheld from use, when there is no landlord trust to arbitrarily corner it, and every landlord naturally seeks to obtain a profit from his land? If landlords cannot get the rent they ask, why do they not take, for the present, what they can get, as owners of commodities generally are forced to do, and thus enjoy some income while awaiting an opportunity to get more.

A great deal of land is held wholly out of use. It is this alone that the questioners have in mind; but this is not the worst form of land pre-emption. Owners of absolutely vacant land would rent it for something if they could; and when they can they do. Thus, in the suburbs of cities, valuable building sites are rented for market gardens from season to season at low rentals; but they are withheld from use as building sites, because the owners will not give the security of tenure necessary to encourage building, without a price or rental that exceeds the present non-speculative value of the land. And this illustrates the kind of pre-emption that is most detrimental to society, and which these questioners have not in their minds at all—partial withholding from use. Building sites are used for market gardens; sites for large business buildings like the United Bank building, at the north-east corner of Wall street and Broadway, are used for old ramshackle structures, like that at the southeast corner of the same streets. Well cultivated farms have acre after acre of land attached to them that are only partially cultivated; and so on, and so on. This condition deprives capital of opportunities for investment and men of opportunities for labor in con-

structing buildings, for example, and it restricts opportunities for carrying on business in the possible structures.

That landlords should only partially improve their land is accounted for in this way. They either cannot themselves afford to fully improve, or are unwilling to assume the risks involved in such investments—higher taxes, possibilities of not renting, etcetera; and they place such onerous conditions upon the privilege of improving that other capital is frightened off. If taxes were based on land values, and were the same irrespective of improvements, it would involve a positive loss to retain poor structures on valuable sites, or otherwise to use any land for purposes less productive than those for which they were adapted. This would force all valuable land into its best use; and since land cannot be used except by labor, and the greater the use the higher the demand for labor, labor opportunities would widen and grow in all directions.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

W. E. Brokaw writes from Paullina, Iowa, in answer to Robert White, who sees an opportunity to identify ballots under the Australian system, by voting for fictitious candidates for unimportant offices, saying that Mr. White's objection goes only to a detail which has been avoided both in Indiana and Colorado by allowing ample opportunity for independent nominations, and then prohibiting voting for any one not nominated.

Richard Chambers, of North Cramer Hill, Camden County, New Jersey, wants to tell the readers of THE STANDARD what some of his Jersey friends regard as the best means of spreading single tax doctrines. He refers to the "Brotherhood of the Union," a secret society established before the civil war. It once had great influence, but has been little heard of since the slavery question was decided. Mr. Chambers says the ritual might have been dramatized from "Progress and Poverty," and he offers full information regarding the Order and the mode of starting circles to all who write to him. The objects of the Order are thus officially described: "The Brotherhood of the Union is an organization of men of all creeds, sects and nationalities, banded together not only to give pecuniary assistance in time of necessity, but to teach man's duty to his brother man, in that sublime truth which addresses itself alike to the strong man and the little child, to the stripling in the vigor of health and the aged man trembling on the verge of the grave: 'God is Love, and all Men are His Children.'"

Eliza Stowe Twitchell refers to Mr. Atkinson's suggestion that Mr. George's letter to the Pope be used for popular public readings, and proposes that four pages, from about the 110th to the 113th, be published as a tract, which may be enclosed in letters to clergymen. Following the thought she says: "Alas! that so many Christians have come to think religion consists in repeating passages of scripture, regular attendance at all the weekly meetings, and filling mite boxes with stray pennies or overburdensome ten cent pieces for foreign missions, and if not last, by no means least, examining one's own conscience by the measure of what 'they' will say if one does not pay as much as Mrs. So and So, or do as much work for the fair or the missionary barrel as she. Works are good when done 'in His name,' but when done in the fear of the aristocracy, are whited sepulchres. Thank God for the Christianity within the churches, and thank God most profoundly for the Christianity out of the churches. There are pulpits and pulpits. Wendell Phillips said: 'A pulpit is not made of paint, and prayers, and mahogany, but an earnest life.' Wherever a voice is lifted up for justice, there is a pulpit. While ministers are anxiously questioning what shall we do to fill our churches, how can we reach the non-church-goers—the masses? some young man is preaching the gospel on the open common and hundreds stand for hours in the rain to hear him gladly. Give us a comfortable religion say the careless, the unthinking, that we need not change our pleasant habits of life. Give us a comfortable religion say the devout, fashionable worshipers, that we need not change our pleasant habits of life. The religion of Christ will never cease to be aggressive until morality and virtue are loved for themselves, and until wars have ceased and universal brotherhood is established on the foundations of truth and justice."

As indications of the effect of Mr. George's reply to the Pope on two entirely different classes of mind, Alfred J. Wolf, of Brooklyn, N. Y., narrates the following: "Recently I made a business call at the office of a friend, a hard-headed, practical Scotchman, whom I had vainly tried to convert to the single tax. My errand concluded, I rose to go, when he checked me and said, 'By the way, I have something to say which I think will please you, I am a single taxer.' 'What?' I exclaimed. 'What do you mean?' 'Why, that I have just finished reading Henry George's letter to the Pope, and that the moral elevation, kindness, and logic of his argument are irresistible, and I surrender.'

"On the same day I met a lady friend, a warm Catholic, who had always refused to accept the single tax doctrine. Hardly had we exchanged greetings when she remarked, laughingly, 'I have read Mr. George's new book, and I declare that I can't hold out against such a feeling and convincing presentation of his ideas. Isn't it beautiful?'

"The fact is that this wonderful production is the most effective means of proselytism that Mr. George has yet placed in the hands of his followers. Once planted in the brain and heart of the most bigoted protectionist his superstitions will disappear entirely without his consciousness."

F. H. Shrock, of Pueblo, Col., writes: Captain Codman is mistaken in supposing that in the west everybody is in favor of free coinage of silver. Free traders and tariff reform democrats in Colorado are opposed absolutely to every form of legalized robbery under the name of protection. Free coinage means robbery of the whole country to pay mine owners 30 cents more on the dollar for their silver than it is worth. There are so-called democrats who claim to be protectionists, but these belong to two classes—disguised republicans who know better, and ignorant democrats

who know nothing of the traditional history of democracy. The latter will swing into line when the convention speaks. "Cleveland and reform" is still our war cry.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

The underlying principle of the single tax—that the earth belongs equally to all, and that the best way to secure substantial justice is to tax the occupant an amount equal to the yearly value of the land—is sound.—Journal of the Knights of Labor, September 24, 1891.

We have no hesitation in declaring our belief that the ideal taxation lies in the Single Land Tax, laid exclusively on the rental value of land, independent of improvements.—New York Times, January 10, 1891.

The best and surest subject of taxation is the thing that perforce stays in one place that is land.—New York Sun, August 26, 1891.

Every one of these taxes [on commodities and buildings] the ostensible taxpayer—the man on the assessor's books—shifts to other shoulders. The only tax he cannot shift is the tax on his land values.—Detroit News, November 1, 1891.

The Bee does not say that it will never be a full-fledged single tax advocate. It believes in it in theory now; it pauses only on the threshold of doubt as to the expediency under existing circumstances.—Sacramento (Cal.) Bee.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,

42 UNIVERSITY PLACE, New York, Dec. 8, 1891.

The National committee is circulating a petition asking the United States house of representatives to appoint a special committee to make inquiry into and report upon the expediency of raising all public revenues by a single tax upon the value of land, irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions, or otherwise. It will send blank petitions on application to any address, and single tax men are urged to obtain petitions and solicit signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion of our principles.

It has also taken up the newspaper work of the Memphis committee and is supplying news companies with single tax matter for their ready prints and plates.

Subscriptions to this committee's fund remain as reported last week, viz..... \$1,688 40

Cash contributions for week ending December 8 are as follows:

Mr. and Mrs. E. D. Burleigh, Germantown, Penn..... \$1 00
Oscar A. Knipe, Philadelphia, Penn..... 80

\$1 80

Cash contributions previously acknowledged..... \$1,659 87

Total..... \$1,661 17

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week..... 112,893
Signatures received since last report..... 370

Total..... 113,263

THE PETITION CLOSES JANUARY 1. HURRY IN THE SIGNATURES.

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS, Secretary.

NEW YORK.

ECONOMIC CLASS

The Economic class met last Wednesday at 73 Lexington avenue, the subject being "The Definition of Land." This had been previously defined, tentatively, as "a natural thing external to man, that satisfies his desires," and the object of the lesson was to ascertain whether the definitions of political economists made it necessary to modify the definition already made. The class had been instructed to consult Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, McCulloch's Ricardo, Jevons, Henry Fawcett, Walker, Perry and George.

It was found that Adam Smith and Jevons give no definition. Mill defines land as an appropriate natural object for the application of labor; which was decided to be in substantial harmony with the definition already adopted. Walker describes it as one of the three primary agents of production: which fell under the criticism that there are but two primary agents of production. Ricardo, while not defining land directly, speaks of rent as "that portion of the produce of the earth which is paid to the landlord for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil," which was regarded as too restricted, in that it apparently includes only agricultural land. Henry Fawcett defines the term as "appropriate natural agents upon which labor may work;" and his definition, like that of Mill, was decided to be in harmony with the one already adopted by the class. Perry's idea that land is in part a natural agent and in part a product, just like a horse or a piece of timber, referred so obviously to a combination (real estate) as to excite the laughter of the class, which was seeking a definition of a primary element. After considering George's definition, "the whole material universe outside of man himself," the class confirmed its previous definition. In the further investigation of the subject, therefore, the class will always regard the term land as meaning "a natural thing external to man that satisfies his desires," and as excluding everything else.

At the next meeting of the class (to-night), the meaning of "Labor" will be considered.

The annual meeting of the Manhattan Single Tax Club was held last Thursday. Reports of officers showed a deficit for the year of only \$11, after the payment of more than \$250 of debts. The annual election takes place at the club house on Thursday of this week.

The Brooklyn Woman's Single Tax club met at 198 Livingston street, on Tuesday afternoon, December 1st. A paper was read on the subject of "The Effects of the Single Tax, if it Should be Adopted," and a discussion followed.

NEW JERSEY.

The Camden Single Tax club meets every Saturday evening.

PENNSYLVANIA.

George E. Chase writes from Philadelphia that on November 28 a tariff debate between Major Veale and Hon. B. P. Hughes occurred at the Tariff

Reform club, Broad street and Columbia avenue. On November 29 at the Kensington Reform club the subject discussed was "Should the McKinley Bill be Abolished?" It was continued on the following Sunday. Messrs. McCaffrey, Walsh, Grimes, Tormey, Moore, Williams, and Blau were the debaters. The meeting was a very large one. The question will be further discussed next Sunday.

The Liberal league, Broad and Wood streets, have interesting lectures and discussions on social and economical subjects every Sunday afternoon and evening. The president is a single tax man, and many free traders and single tax men join in. The Kensington Reform club is now composed largely of single tax men. The Question club, 39 South Broad street, hold meetings every Saturday evening and discuss suffrage, wages, tariff, and single tax.

At the Sunday evening meeting of the Philadelphia Single Tax society, on November 29th, tariff was the chief subject of discussion, Mr. Blau for protection and Mr. Hetzel and Mr. Feinberg for free trade. At the regular Thursday evening meeting, December 3d, Mr. G. F. Stephens, chairman, opened with a ten-minute explanation to the audience (which filled the room to overflowing), of what the single tax is. Mr. Burleigh, of the Germantown club, gave an interesting description of their meeting of December 2d. The rest of the evening was devoted to a debate on the tariff.

The society has recently taken rooms in the most prominent location in the city, corner Broad street and City Hall square, opposite the new City Hall. Curtains are to be placed at all the windows of third floor, on both thoroughfares, lettered in gold, "Single Tax Society." Three large, attractive signs, one at the entrance and one each on Broad street and City Hall sides of the building, are to be erected. On one sign, "Reciprocity with all the world," will be lettered, and on the other, "Single tax means free trade with all the world."

At the Germantown Single Tax club, December 2d, J. T. Wright spoke for protection, and Mr. H. V. Hetzel, for free trade, before a large audience. On December 15, Miss Katherine Musson will speak before this club on the subject of "Land and Wages."

ILLINOIS.

Warren Worth Bailey writes from Chicago: On Thursday evening, at the club, "The Philosophy of Prohibition" was the subject, and Mr. Arthur L. Gettys, a young attorney, who was formerly a pupil of Professor Cantfield when that able economist was in the Kansas state university, was the speaker. He presented the prohibition question as it is not often put forward, his argument being close and very plausible. He made few of the rash claims and quoted few of the wild "statistics" which characterize the average prohibition speech, but he attempted to justify the suppression of the drink traffic on the ground of social necessity. Mr. Wells, Mr. Cooley, Mr. Bartholomew, and Mr. White ably replied to Mr. Gettys, and demonstrated the weakness of his argument. Mr. Kellett and Mr. Cook upheld the speaker, who closed in a very brief reply to his critics. The whole discussion, while it was animated and interesting, was in excellent temper.

Mr. Gettys announced himself a single tax man and free trader, and said he should join the club. He also said that many of the prohibition leaders were single taxers and nearly all of them free traders.

One of the pleasant features of the evening was the reading of an original poem by Charles Eugene Banks, a young verse writer, who is making his name known in the West.

IOWA.

W. E. Brokaw writes from Charles City: November 28 I addressed an audience in the Armory hall. Dr. Smith had thoroughly advertised the meeting, and those who attended were mostly professional and business men who are interested in economic questions. I afterward made a canvass of the stores and offices, and found a good many persons who are reading George's works and much interested in the movement. Dr. Smith has sown much seed on good ground, and the watering I have given it will help develop an early harvest of single taxers in Charles City.

MISSOURI.

"Uncle Tom," sending five petitions, writes from St. Louis: The Brass-finishers' and Polishers' union, local No. 13, took action upon my letter, and while quite a number of members were in favor, others, who know what they want but don't know how to get it, opposed it, and carried the day. Congressional petitions for signatures had been distributed, but were torn to pieces, one individual tearing up a bunch of twenty-five. A member even had the audacity to move that the member who brought the subject before the union should be fined \$5. The secretary of the union paid me a visit a few days ago, and assured me that a good many members were in favor of the single tax, including himself, but he announced himself a member of the People's party and in accord with its platform. He promised to see Mr. Percy Pepon, and make arrangements with him to have single tax speakers at Central Turner hall at public meetings every Sunday afternoon. As far as I could learn the arrangements have been made.

INDIANA.

E. F. Fellows writes from Indianapolis: The annual conference of farmers' organizations met in this city last week. There was a fair attendance. All of the brainy men in the movement were present. I met and talked with many of them. I found them ready to listen as well as to talk. They impressed me as men looking for the light. I discovered no cranks among the thoughtful. There was little bigotry manifested. The farmers want to reform our land system, transportation system, and money system. On these points they are a unit. Many of them are single taxers. Most of their orators understand and endorse the single tax doctrine, and they let it crop out in their private conversation and public talk. Some of them talked "sub treasury" and some talked against it. There was a clear majority in favor of the plan, however. But there is no doubt in my mind that the leaders in the movement consider the sub-treasury plan class legislation. But they see the national banker getting an issue on his bonds, the

bullion man getting an issue on his bullion, the whiskey man getting an issue on his whiskey, and they want an "equal right" to deposit their cotton and wheat and get an issue on them. "Kick them all out or let us all in," said Utely, of Kansas, in his speech Wednesday evening. The farmers are going our way and it won't hurt us to get in and ride a piece with them once in a while. No danger of a single tax man losing his way. He will know it if the farmer fails to keep in the middle of the road.

Jerry Simpson gave us a great speech Saturday night. He used the name of Henry George in the first sentence of his speech, and, having asked his hearers not to get frightened over it, he proceeded to prove that the single tax was the great reform that would make all other reforms easier, and without which any and all other reforms would be barren of lasting good. I tell you he talked single tax from the word go, and he held his audience without barring the doors. Single tax men helped him to get an audience. They distributed several thousand handbills. I stood on the street myself and passed out bills for two hours. So did other single tax men. My cry to the people was (when I found that the dear people would not take the bills without promising them a chromo): "My friends! The wisest and funniest man in America at Tomlinson hall to night! The only sockless statesman in the world! The only comedy company in the world, consisting of one man, viz., the barefooted, sockless Socrates, cyclone orator of Kansas! Worth any man's dollar. Admission free!" The people clamored over each other to get a bill, and they went to the hall to hear Jerry.

CANADA.

Robert Tyson, of Toronto, reports: The Single Tax association of that city is circulating petitions asking the legislature of Ontario to grant to municipalities the privilege of exempting personal property and improvements from taxation. E. F. Clark, mayor of Toronto, has made an important proposal, namely, to charge a portion of the cost of the city's water service directly upon land values. The object of this is to prevent vacant land escaping charges, although it may have mains passing in front of it. What may be called the construction charges, are what is proposed to be put on land values. A committee of the city council has the matter in hand.

Mr. Tyson writes further: Glorious news from British Columbia! Mr. Milton Kerr, a member of the executive committee of the Toronto Single Tax association, has just returned from the Pacific coast. He reports that the city of Vancouver has passed a by-law adopting the single tax to this remarkable extent: That buildings and improvements are taxed one-twenty-sixth of the land taxation; that is, that a building whose full assessable value formerly was \$2,600 will be assessed at only \$100 in future. Also that the city of Victoria has passed a by-law taxing real estate improvements at 50 per cent. of their value, thus making the tax on land values twice that on the improvements.

The Toronto Single Tax association is holding successful fortnightly meetings, and continues to send deputations of speakers to outside organizations, labor and otherwise. Mr. Douglas and I addressed the Locomotive Brotherhood this afternoon. Rev. Dr. Adams, of Buffalo, will address us in January, and our president, J. W. Bengough, in February. We shall send a speaker to Woodstock, Ont., by request, at an early date.

John F. Baker writes from Kingston: We have had started in Kingston a Sunday afternoon meeting exclusively in the interest of labor subjects, both moral and practical. At the first we had addresses from Principal Grant, Major Mayne, a high churchman; R. T. Walkem, Q. C.; also from J. M. Machar, Q. C., and single taxer; A. Hoppins, single taxer; and sundry other single taxers. On the 29th ex-Alderman Osborne read a paper on the "Inequalities of Taxation." Osborne is a single taxer. An interesting discussion followed in which the Rev. Royson of All Saints', took the single tax side. I am agreeably surprised to find how well understood is the single tax.

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

Below are names of delegates from Missouri to the eleventh annual session of the Farmers' congress, held at Sedalia, Mo., November 16th, 1891.

It is most important that the farmers of small places should learn the truth about the single tax, and what it would do for them. Explain particularly the way in which the burden of taxation now weighing upon them would be lightened, and how, through the general improvement in conditions, the demand for their produce would grow.

Division A.—M. V. L. McCellan, Lexington, Mo.

Division B.—C. M. Campbell, Edina, Mo.

Division C.—A. M. Alexander, Paris, Mo.

Division D.—Charles Castle, Florissant, St. Louis County, Mo.

Division E.—John B. Francis, Normandy, St. Louis County, Mo.

The Brewster News, Brewster, Neb., has already accepted some single tax matter, and its columns are open for further articles. I hope some members will write for it.

MARIAN DANA MACDANIEL, Secretary, 1674 Broadway, New York.

WHEELMEN WANT BETTER ROADS.

New York Sun.

The League of American Wheelmen have taken a new departure from the line of sports. They will use united efforts to advance road improvements, and will open a bureau for that purpose. The executive officers of the league have engaged I. B. Potter, the president of the Brooklyn bicycle club, to take entire charge of the new bureau. It is the purpose to issue a magazine to be devoted entirely to the improvement of the highways. This book will be sent to the 23,000 league members free of cost each month. The league promises to appropriate several thousands of dollars each year for the maintenance of this bureau.

Mr. Potter, who assumes charge of the bureau, is a well-known lawyer of this city. The offices of the new department will be in the Potter building. The L. A. W. have always taken a deep interest in improvement of the roads, and the idea of a bureau has been considered for a long time.

Send orders to THE STANDARD for Henry George's reply to the Pope. Cloth, 75c.; paper, 80c.

PERSONAL.

Lawrence Dunham, Connecticut member of the National committee of the single tax league, whose long illness has been reported here from time to time, has now fully recovered.

Eugene V. Debs, editor and manager of the *Locomotive Fireman's Magazine*, the official organ of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, published at Terre Haute, Indiana, is responsible for the best labor society periodical ever issued. It is a monthly magazine of nearly 100 pages, full of news, discussions, light reading, and strong editorials.

H. G. Seaver has a first-class letter in the *Brooklyn Eagle* on Henry George's reply to the Pope.

Professor Devine, of the University of Pennsylvania, is to debate the single tax with Louis F. Post at the Opera house in Reading, on the 18th of December.

John Farrell, editor of the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* of New South Wales, and *THE STANDARD's* regular correspondent in Australasia, to whom our readers are indebted for the obituary of Rev. Hugh Gilmore, which appears in another column, expresses the deep regret that was felt among Australians interested in the single tax movement at the news of Mr. Croasdale's death, and says: "We had only known him in spirit as a co-worker for justice and humanity, but we knew him well, for all that. And on behalf of thousands here who have been made acquainted with him through his work, let me add one more to the many sincere tributes paid to a useful life and a worthy memory."

Wm. A. Garretson, of Lincoln, Kansas, whose work for the single tax has been persistent but judicious, and in many important respects successful, has suffered the loss of his wife, who died on the 23d of November, after a long and distressing illness.

On Sunday afternoon, December 8, at three o'clock, James McGregor is to meet Van Buren Denslow at Holme's Star Theatre, corner of Jay and Fulton streets, Brooklyn, in joint debate on "Protection versus Free Trade."

The address on "True Reform" delivered by William J. Gorsuch, governor for Connecticut of the National provident union, before Lincoln council, at Bridgeport, has been published by the council. It eloquently illustrates the fundamental right of every man to develop, and advocates as the true reform that which will make easier of attainment and more secure the means of exercising this right.

H. Morse Stephens' history of the French revolution, of which two of the three volumes have been published by the Scribners, is pronounced the best work on that subject, for purposes of study, that has ever appeared.

William O. Foley, of Greensburg, Ind., a staunch single taxer and a member of the letter writing corps, was married on December 9.

R. T. Walkem, one of the leading lawyers of Kingston, Ontario, who wears the silk gown of a Queen's counsel, is a prominent advocate of the single tax.

PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

NOTE.—All checks and post office orders should be drawn simply to the order of *THE STANDARD*. In remitting in postage stamps, ones and twos are preferred to those of larger denomination. By complying strictly with this request, correspondents will save the publisher much trouble.

CLASSIFIED LIST OF ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE STANDARD FROM AUGUST 19, 1891, TO DATE.

Alabama.....	5	Mexico.....	4
Arizona.....	1/2	Montana.....	4 1/2
Australia.....	2	Nebraska.....	7 1/2
California.....	31 5-6	New Hampshire.....	1 1/2
Canada.....	37 1/2	New Jersey.....	47 1-6
Colorado.....	18	New Mexico.....	7 1/2
Connecticut.....	10 3/4	New York.....	182 1/2
Cuba.....	1 1/2	New Zealand.....	2
Delaware.....	3 1/2	North Dakota.....	2 1/2
District of Columbia.....	12 1/2	Ohio.....	43 5-6
England.....	4	Oregon.....	7
Florida.....	4	Pennsylvania.....	67 1/2
Georgia.....	3	Rhode Island.....	12 1/2
Illinois.....	54 3/4	South Dakota.....	7
Indiana.....	4 1-6	South Carolina.....	1 1/2
Iowa.....	27 1/2	Texas.....	21
Kansas.....	12 1/2	Tennessee.....	8 3/4
Kentucky.....	7 1/2	Utah.....	2
Louisiana.....	4 1/2	Vermont.....	5
Maryland.....	9 1/2	Virginia.....	7
Massachusetts.....	63 1/2	West Virginia.....	1 1/2
Missouri.....	24	Wisconsin.....	10
Maine.....	3 1/2	Washington.....	12 1/2
Minnesota.....	16 1-6	Wyoming.....	2
Michigan.....	21		
Mississippi.....	1		
			849 1-6

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE STANDARD SINCE AUGUST 19, 1891.

Total for this week.....	104 1/2
Total for last week in August.....	25
" " " September.....	54
" " " October.....	48 3/4
" " " November.....	79
" first " September.....	58 5-6
" " " October.....	52 3/4
" " " November.....	47 5-6
" " " December.....	41 1/2
" second " September.....	59 3/4
" " " October.....	56 3-6
" " " November.....	38 1/2
" " " December.....	104 1/2
" third " September.....	51 3/4
" " " October.....	34 5-6
" " " November.....	44 1/2
" fourth " September.....	50
	849 1-6

In its present form, and with its present subscription list, *THE STANDARD* self-supporting. Hence it would be folly to make any change of doubtful success; but having received so many urgent appeals, and our own

desires being strong, to reduce the price to \$1, we concluded to submit the question to our subscribers. Accordingly, we made careful estimates of the circulation at \$1 that would be necessary to support *THE STANDARD* in its present form, and finding that 25,000 would be required, we addressed a letter on the 25th of November to each subscriber, in which we explained the above facts, and said:

To make this change possible, we must have an average of seven guarantees from each of our present mail subscribers, inclusive of his own subscription. We fully understand that many will be unable to guarantee a larger sum than they are now paying, but if they can afford \$3 for one subscription, they can pay the same sum for three subscriptions, and we expect all who favor a reduction to do at least this much. It will be necessary, however, in order to be assured of a sufficient circulation to warrant the change, for all who are able to do so, to guarantee as many more than three as their means will permit.

Please bear in mind too that we are asking for subscriptions and not simply for money. Those of you who will take the trouble to secure subscribers need be at no more personal outlay than your own subscription involves. If you lack either the time or inclination to solicit subscribers, and are able to guarantee the experiment against loss, we beg that you will send with each dollar the name of a person who you believe will be interested in reading the paper.

A guaranteed circulation of 25,000 for one year at \$1, will place *THE STANDARD* on a firm footing and permanently make it a widely read, prosperous, and influential paper.

As the continuance of the publication of *THE STANDARD* is in no way involved, we beg, if your present subscription is about to expire, that you renew promptly at the present rate. Should sufficient guarantees to warrant a reduction to \$1 be received, the change will be made on or about January 1, and subscribers who renew between now and then will, in the event of a reduction, be credited with two annual subscriptions if they call for one of our premiums, and with three if they do not.

Trusting that *THE STANDARD* will continue to have your support, whether published at the present or the reduced rate, and that we may hear from you by return mail, we are, yours very truly, *THE STANDARD*.

Accompanying the above letter was a blank contract as follows:

On receipt of guarantees for not less than 25,000 annual subscriptions, said guarantees to go into effect not later than July 1, 1892, we hereby agree to publish *THE STANDARD* in its present form and size at the price of \$1 per year.

THE STANDARD.

In consideration of the above agreement, I hereby guarantee annual subscriptions at \$1 each. Said subscriptions to be forwarded on or before the dates below as follows:

On January 1, 1892.....subscriptions.

" April 1, "....."

" July 1, "....."

Total.....subscriptions.

Name.....

Address.....

Subscribers were requested to indicate their interest in the question of a reduced price by filling out, signing, and returning the blank contract.

Thus far we have heard from but about one-eighth of all our subscribers; and the subscription guaranteed is only about one-tenth of that required, or 2,471 copies. This indicates that the desire for a reduction of price is not great, and forces us to the conclusion that in all probability we shall be obliged to abandon the idea. A few replies positively favor the three dollar rate, and the silence of so many more suggests that they also favor it. We are so confident, however, of the wisdom of making the change that we call attention to our letter, stating its unsatisfactory results thus far; and we also send this copy of *THE STANDARD* to a large circle of single tax men and free traders who are not subscribers, in order that they may have an opportunity to vote upon the question.

If the reader of these lines wishes us to reduce the price of *THE STANDARD*, let him, at once, cut out the above blank, fill the spaces appropriately, sign it with name and address, and mail it to us.

We are usually glad to receive suggestions, both as to editorial and business policy; but what we want to know now is whether enough *STANDARD* readers favor a reduction to \$1 a year to make the change practicable. Therefore, it will be useless to tell us that the price ought to be \$2, instead of either \$3 or \$1; we have considered that in the light of facts with which we are better acquainted than any one else can be, and it is out of the question. Or that we ought to abandon premiums, and reduce the price to the extent of what they cost us; we know what they cost us, and our readers do not. Or that we ought to open the columns of the paper to agnostic, free silver, nationalist, greenback, socialist, anarchist, and other miscellaneous discussion; the paper is a free trade and single tax paper, and if its price cannot be reduced as such a paper, it cannot be reduced at all.

If you favor the reduction, send us your blank for at least three subscriptions.

Our decision will be announced through *THE STANDARD* in the first issue of January or earlier. It will be based upon the guarantees, and be made with the best advice we can call to our aid. Should it be adverse, we shall be sorry, but we trust that no one—especially those who send no guarantees—will ever thereafter trouble us with assurances of the anxiety of our readers for a lower price and larger circulation.

RANDALLISM CORRECTLY DEFINED.

New York Recorder

The late Mr. Randall held his place as a democratic leader in Pennsylvania and a member of the house of representatives from the city of Philadelphia by the forbearance of the republicans. There was never a time when by redistricting Philadelphia Mr. Randall could have not been deprived of his seat. Pennsylvania republicans preferred to have a democrat in the house who was not a slave to the dogmas of free trade. Mr. Randall held his place and his leadership by paying tribute to protection.

THE OLD VAGRANT.

From the French, of Beranger.

Weary and old, here let me die—
Here in this ditch, I care not how,
"He is drunk!" the passers-by may cry,
I do not want their pity now.
'Tis so, save when with shuddering glance
And scarce a pause, their sons they throw;
Why stop to lose the play, the dance?
Pass on, for I can die alone.

Yes, here to time I yield at last,
Since hunger can no longer kill:
I once did hope when youth was past,
My age some sheltered nook might fill.
But in no refuge was there room,
So many wretches houseless roam!
The streets through life have been my doom:
So, after all, I'll die at home.

When young, to those who earned their bread,
"Teach me your trade," I used to say;
"We scarce find work ourselves," they said;
"Go beg, my lad," and turned away.
Ye rich, who bade work, nor saw
How hard I strove, ye gave, 'tis true,
My crust of bread, my couch of straw;
I dare not lay my curse on you.

I might have robbed—I begged instead;
The greatest theft I can recall,
Was but an apple o'er my head,
That overhung some garden wall.
Yet, want has such an evil look,
That into jail I oft was thrown:
The only wealth I had, they took;
At least the sunshine was my own.

What country has the poor man? None?
How shared I in your corn and wine?
The battles by your soldiers won—
Your arts, your commerce were not mine.
Yet, when beneath the stranger's rule
The pride of France was crushed and low,
I wept! 'Twas like a thoughtless fool,
For rich and generous was the foe.

If we, indeed, mere vermin are,
'Twere wise to crush us ere we sting:
If men, Oh! teach us—wiser far—
How from our lives some good may spring.
Worm that I am, had human aid
Or guidance reached me, ever I
Might here have labored, loved and prayed,
Where now I leave my curse and die.

UNEARNED INCREMENT.

In pursuing the study of the language of monkeys, Professor Garner says he has discovered that monkeys object to gathering pennies for their board and clothes, and enriching other people at the risk of breaking their own necks. And yet Darwin thought men were descended from monkeys.—Boston Globe.

"Mamma," said Chippy Oldblock, looking up from the newspaper that he was slowly spelling out, "I should like to be Annie L. Jorkins's little boy." "What makes you say that, dear?" asked Mrs. Oldblock. She had tried hard to do her duty by him, and it grieved her to think that his affections should go out to some one else. "Why, you see, this paper says that the Annie L. Jorkins has just come into port with her spanker gone."—Boston Post.

Stranger (brightly): "Fine day!" Chronic Grumbler: "Ye-es—locally—probably raining somewhere."—Puck.

Johnny Curus: "Pa?" Curus: "Yes, my son." Johnny Curus: "Are ocean greyhounds any relation to these old sea dogs we read about?"—Boston News.

Visitor: "Johnny, do you speak the truth?" Johnny: "Yes'm; and I can lie pretty well, too."—Puck.

Stay, stay the present instant:
Imprint the marks of wisdom on its wings:
O let it not elude thy grasp, but like
The good old patriarch upon the record,
Hold the good angel fast until he bless thee.
Think that to-day shall never dawn again.—Dante.

"Prisoner," said Judge Cowing, "you are charged with gambling." "Gambling! What is gambling?" "Playing cards for money." "But I did not play cards for money; I played cards for chips." "Well, you got

money for your chips at the end of the game, didn't you?" "No; I didn't have any chips at the end of the game." "You are discharged."—Texas Siftings.

A parson who had had a call from a little country parish to a large and wealthy one in a big city. He asked time for prayer and consideration. He did not feel sure of his light. A month passed. Finally some one met his youngest son on the street. "How is it, Josiah," said the neighbor, "is your father going to B—?" "Well," answered the youngster, judiciously, "Paw is still prayin' for light, but most of the things is packed."—New York Evening Sun.

HOW THEY GROW.

Westward Ho! the new illustrated monthly magazine, published at Minneapolis, speaks enthusiastically of the future of Minneapolis, and incidentally illustrates the truth that land values are products of community growth.

"Colonel J. H. Stevens," it says, "is authority for the statement that in the spring of 1856 Minneapolis lots had an average value of five dollars each. Shortly before this date, much of the land on which Minneapolis is built was taken up at a dollar and a quarter per acre, most of it being then considered as simply farming land. The conditions existing in those old days probably did not justify a larger price for real estate. A little town on the prairie, hundreds of miles from railroad communication, and in a comparatively unsettled country, was not an attractive place for real estate investment. The water power at this point was of little value while the country was still undeveloped, and it would have taxed even prophetic vision to have foreseen the conditions that would exist here in twenty or thirty years.

"We can look back now and wonder why men in those by-gone days, who possessed a little money, did not invest in corner lots and keep them until they became worth a fortune. Thirty-five years from now the people then living in Minneapolis will probably look back to this time and wonder why we ourselves did not pursue this course. It is probable that they will be just as much justified in such a judgment by the changes that will have taken place between now and then, as we are by the changes that have taken place during the past thirty five or forty years."

FIRST HOME OF THE FLAG.

Philadelphia Record.

The little old building on Arch street above Second, where Betsey Ross made the first flag of stars and stripes for the United States army, is likely to be removed bodily and taken to Chicago for exhibition at the world's fair. The building is owned by Mrs. Amelia Mond, and she has been asked to name a price for the property, the prospective purchaser being a Western gentleman. The Pennsylvania Historical society desires to buy the house and remove it to the park, alongside of Penn's house, but it has not the money available. Mrs. Mond would prefer that the old house remain in Philadelphia.

POPE LEO AND POPE GEORGE.

London Echo

One wonders if Mr. Henry George was conscious of the humor of his reply to the Pope's recent encyclical on the labor question. The humor lies in the sympathetically admonitory tone of a writer who, following the Pope's example, bases his argument upon orthodox theological premises, and reasons deductively from these. The poor old Pope is remonstrated with, in the most fatherly way, for mistaking the intentions of the Divine Being, whose earthly steward he is. From an Agnostic all this would be right enough, but it must (supposing his holiness has read it) be somewhat galling from a person who is not only a Christian believer, but whose fundamental propositions are identical with those of the encyclical. Pope Leo finds divine authority for private property in land. Pope George finds divine

authority for his "single tax" scheme. We are not exaggerating. Indeed, Mr. Henry George calmly declares that the possibility of meeting all public expenditure by his "single tax" (i. e., unearned increment from land) is the strongest of all evidences for the divinity of Christianity. The Pope's encyclical has not thrown any fresh light on the land and labor questions, or suggested a single new idea; nor is there anything in Mr. George's reply with which his readers are not already sufficiently familiar. The reply, in the form of a letter to the Pope, and the Pope's encyclical, are published as a volume of Sonnen-schein's Social Science Series.

THE LIGHT IS BREAKING.

Clough.

Say not the struggle naught availeth,
The labor and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars.
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets breaking,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

And not by eastern windows only
The daylight dawns; comes in the light
In front; the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright!

NEXT STEP IN THE INTEREST OF WAGE EARNERS.

Louis F. Post in the Voice.

When we speak of "wage-earners," trade unionism is usually uppermost in thought. But trade unionists are a very small proportion of working people. Even wage-workers in the broader sense that includes all who work for employers, do not constitute a large proportion. In every branch of industry there are workingmen and women who cannot be organized, and many who receive their wages not from any employer but directly from the products. And as to organized wage-earners, the most they can do within ordinary union rules is, by arbitrary measures that bear most severely upon the smallest employers, to keep wages a little above the average. As the average falls, so must their demands fall.

It is obvious, therefore, that wage-earners in the restricted sense can accomplish nothing worth the effort, except as they influence the whole body of labor—organized, unorganized, and working employers. This can be done only by bringing about a clearer understanding of the community of interest that really exists between all these classes, and of the essential hostility of interest between them and the beneficiaries of special privileges. Working employers should be made to see that higher wages in general means higher wages for themselves as well as for their help; hired men and women should be brought to understand that greater business prosperity among working employers inevitably involves, in free conditions, better wages for people who are employed.

But all practical steps must be in politics. For, since the interests of people who work are identical, and are in opposition only to special privileges, which are created by laws, any beneficial movement must be toward the repeal of such laws. This requires political action. Political action may be undertaken by means of establishing new political parties, or of influencing parties already established. The latter is the easier. To enthusiastic and inexperienced reformers it seems a slow and uncertain process, but it is in fact faster and surer than the other. The difference is like that between beating against a head wind and trying to sail directly into its teeth.

In choosing one of the established parties, regard should be had for its underlying principles;

—ELY'S CREAM BALM—Cleanses the Nasal Passages, Allays Pain and Inflammation, Heals the Sores, Restores Taste and Smell, and Cures

CATARRH

—Gives Relief at once for Cold in Head. Apply into the Nostrils.—It is Quickly Absorbed. 50c. Druggists or by mail, ELY BROS., 56 Warren St., N. Y.



that they be in accord with the policy necessary to secure the desired result. If the policy ought to be paternal, the republican party offers advantages for its tendency is in that direction; if it ought to be in favor of having government interfere with private affairs as little as possible, the democratic party is the better of the two, for its tendency is away from paternalism.

Now, what wage-earners require is to be let alone. What special interests require is governmental protection. And since the abolition of special privileges is the desired result, the democratic party is to be preferred. The next step in the interest of wage-earners, therefore, as it seems to me, should be their identification with that party, to be followed by continual effort in the direction of making it more and more radical in the application of its fundamental principles.

ACCIDENTAL DISCHARGE OF A PUN.

Temple Bar.

A capital pun may arise by pure accident, as recorded in Bucke's "Book of Table Talk." A Mr. Alexander Gun was dismissed from a post in the customs at Edinburgh, for circulating some false rumor. The dismissal is said to have been thus noted in the customs books at the time: "A. Gun discharged for making a false report."

GOVERNOR HOGG'S FISH STORY.

Fort Worth Gazette.

Concerning the piscatory part of an expedition, as an angler, Governor Hogg grew enthusiastic. "I was sitting in the boat, and one day," he said, "just inside the entrance to the pass, when I felt a nibble; I jerked the line gently, when I knew I had him. I began to haul in, and felt the line grow heavier. Then began a succession of savage rushes, and all grew still as the breast when the spirit hath flown. When the end of the line came to the surface I found a tangle of fish. I had first hooked a snapper, the snapper had been seized by a terrapin, which was unable to free itself. The terrapin had been run through by a swordfish, which was fastened by his long blade, and a stingaree had wrapped himself around the swordfish and stung him to death. I suppose there must have been 300 pounds of meat on the hook."

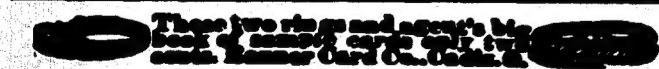
Asked if there was anyone else in the boat, the governor replied that he was alone.

PUBLIC SPEAKING.

George A. Sala in the Gallian Messenger.

Modern elocution is a kind of acting, and I have known very few actors who were even tolerably good speechmakers. The majority of barristers "act" more or less in court, and they rarely speak eloquently either after dinner or in parliament. The ancient orators must have had some advantages of which we are all deprived. Perhaps Cicero sang his speeches and Demosthenes danced. You know that he recommended "action, action, and yet more action." But action is not acting. To speak really well you must believe in that which you are saying. Who is more eloquent than an angry woman?

On the other hand, I do most firmly believe in what is coarsely but impressively termed "the gift of the gab"—that is to say, that eloquence is a boon of nature. Charles Dickens had it. Next to the late Lord Derby and John Bright, the author of "David Copperfield" was one of the finest public speakers I have ever listened to. Mr. Thackeray was one of the wretchedest.



HENRY GEORGE'S LECTURE

MOSES

Appeared in THE STANDARD of December 3, 1887, and has not been published in any other form.

We will send a copy of that issue of THE STANDARD in exchange for issue of August 5, 1891, or a copy will be mailed to any address on receipt of 15 cents.

A limited number on hand.

THE STANDARD.

42 University Place,
New York

PUBLICATIONS

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SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

PLATFORM

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES AT COOPER UNION, NEW YORK, SEPT. 3, 1890.

We assert as our fundamental principle the self-evident truth enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

We hold that all men are equally entitled to the use and enjoyment of what God has created and of what is gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that value which the growth and improvement of the community attach to land should be taken for the use of the community.

We hold that each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor.

To carry out these principles we are in favor of raising all public revenues for national, state, county and municipal purposes by a single tax upon land values, irrespective of improvements, and of the abolition of all forms of direct and indirect taxation.

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government, the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments; or, a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

The single tax we propose is not a tax on land, and therefore would not fall on the use of land and become a tax on labor.

It is a tax, not on land, but on the value of land. Thus it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value—the premium which the user of land must pay to the owner, either in purchase money or rent, for permission to use valuable land. It would thus be a tax, not on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as owner, and not as user.

In assessments under the single tax all values created by individual use or improvement would be excluded and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighborhood, etc., to be determined by impartial periodical assessments. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar lot vacant.

The single tax, in short, would call upon men to contribute to the public revenues, not in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to its fullest use.

The single tax, therefore, would—

1. Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.
2. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.
3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off, and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.
4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share, through free exchanges, in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies and corruptions which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on anyone who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave everyone free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his exertion.
5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor-saving inventions blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and

such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

With respect to monopolies other than the monopoly of land, we hold that where free competition becomes impossible, as in telegraphs, railroads, water and gas supplies, etc., such business becomes a proper social function, which should be controlled and managed by and for the whole people concerned, through their proper government, local, state or national, as may be.

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS

THAT HAVE ADOPTED THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES MADE BY NATIONAL CONFERENCE AT NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 3, 1890.

Secretaries of clubs are requested to send corrections, notices of the formation of new clubs or of requests for the enrollment of existing clubs to Geo. St. John Leavens, Secretary of the National Committee at No. 42 University place, New York.

ARKANSAS.

LITTLE ROCK.—Single tax club. Every alternate Thursday evening, 717 Main st. Pres., Sol. F. Clark; sec., Theo. Hartman.

CALIFORNIA.

LOS ANGELES.—Single tax club. Pres., Clarence A. Miller; sec., R. Byron Welcome, 523 Macy st.

OAKLAND.—Oakland single tax club No. 1. Meets every Friday evening at St. Andrew's Hall, at 1056½ Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Hodgins.

SAN FRANCISCO.—California single tax society, room 9, 341 Market street. Pres., L. M. Manser; cor. sec., Thomas Watson, 341 Market street.

COLORADO.

DENVER.—Single tax club. Headquarters 303 16th st. Pres., Geo. H. Phelps; sec., James Crosby, P. O. Box 257, Highlands.

PUEBLO.—Commonwealth single tax club. Regular meetings fourth Friday of each month at office of R. D. W. Reeve, corner Union av. and Main st. Pres., B. D. V. Reeve; sec., J. W. Brentlinger.

CONNECTICUT.

SHARON.—Sharon single tax committee. Chairman, J. J. Ryan.

MERIDEN.—Meriden single tax club. Meets second and fourth Fridays of the month at 7:30 p. m. at parlors of J. Cairns, 72½ E. Main st. President, John Cairns; secretary, Arthur M. Dignam.

DELAWARE.

WILMINGTON.—Single tax association. Meets first and third Mondays of each month at 8 p. m. Pres., Geo. W. Kress; sec., Frank L. Beardon.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON.—Chas. F. Adams' Scientific Council (No. 2) of the People's Commonwealth. First Tuesday evening of each month at 150 A st., n. w. Trustee, Chas. Newburgh, 64 DeForest st.; sec., Dr. Wm. Geddes, 1719 G st., n. w.

WASHINGTON single tax league. President, Edwin Gladson; treas., R. J. Boyd; sec'y, Wm. Geddes, M.D., 1719 G st., n. w.

GEORGIA.

ATLANTA, Ga.—Atlanta single tax club No. 1. Pres., J. M. Booth; sec., J. Henley Smith, 12 W. Alabama st.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Chicago single tax club. Every Thursday evening at 206 La Salle st. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey, 210 Lincoln av.; sec., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 73.

SOUTH CHICAGO.—Single tax club of South Chicago and Cheltenham. Pres., John Black; sec., Robt. Aitchison, box K. K., South Chicago.

BRACEVILLE.—Braceville single tax committee. Pres., John Mainwaring; sec., Chas. E. Matthews.

PEORIA.—Peoria single tax club. Meetings Thursday evenings in Court House. Pres., Jas. W. Hill, 310 North st.; sec., Jas. W. Avery.

QUINCY.—Gen City single tax club. Meets every Thursday evening at 7:30, room 4, second floor, n. e. cor. 5th and Hampshire sts. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec. Duke Schreer, 524 York st.

INDIANA.

INDIANAPOLIS.—Single tax league. Pres., Theo. J. Hudson; sec., Chas. H. Kramc. Every Sunday, 2:30 p. m. Benson Hall, cor. Washington and Alabama sts, room 12.

ELKHART.—Single tax club. Pres., C. S. Schneider, 5 South 24 st.; sec., M. Ritchie, 913 South A st.

IOWA.

DUMMETT.—Burlington single tax club. First Saturday of each month, 305 North 5th st. Pres., Wilbur Beema, 330 Hodge av.; sec. treas., Frank S. Churchill.

CEGAR RAPIDS.—Single tax club. L. G. Booth, pres.; J. V. Kennedy, sec.

STOCK CITY.—Single tax committee. Pres., N. C. A. Raybouser, 214 Kansas st.; sec'y, R. B. Bickerton, 21st and Howard sts.

KENTUCKY.

LOUISVILLE.—Progress single tax club. Open every evening, 504 West Jefferson st. Business meetings Friday. Pres., Christ. Landolf; sec., W. W. Daniel, 303 Franklin st.

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—Louisiana single tax club. Meets first and third Thursday night at 8 p. m. at 131 Poydras st. Pres., Jas. Middleton; sec., G. W. Roberts, 338 Thalia st.

MAINE.

AUBURN.—Auburn single tax club. Public meetings every Saturday evening, 3 River Road. Pres., A. C. Dunlap; sec., W. G. Andrews, P. O. Box 708.

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday at 8 p. m., in hall 506 East Baltimore st.; Pres. Wm. J. Opler, 6 North Carey st.; sec. sec., J. W. Bond, 35 S. Broadway; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. K. Hill, 1438 E. Baltimore st.

BALTIMORE single tax society. Every Sunday afternoon, 3 p. m., at Industrial Hall, 225 W. Lombard st. Pres., Jos. E. Kelly; sec., W. H. Kelly, 225 Calverton st.

MASSACHUSETTS.

STATE.—Massachusetts single tax league. Pres., William Lloyd Garrison; sec., E. H. Underhill, 45 Kilby st., Boston; treas., George Cox, Jr., 72 High st., Boston.

BOSTON.—Single tax league. Public meetings second fourth Sundays of each month at 2:30 p. m. at G. A. R. Hall, 616 Washington st. Pres., Edwin M. White; sec., Emily T. Turner 5 Cambridge st.

BROCKTON.—Single tax club. Meets Friday evenings corner Glenwood av. and Vernon st. Pres., Wm. A. McIndrick; sec., A. S. Barnard, 54 Belmont st.

DORCHESTER.—Single tax club. Meetings first Tuesday of each month at Field's building, Field's corner. Pres., Edward Frost; sec., John Adams, Field's building, Field's corner.

HAVERTHILL.—Haverhill single tax league. Meets every Thursday evening, at 73 Merrimac st. Pres., Geo. W. Pottengill; cor. sec., Edward F. Collum, 4 Green st.

MALDEN.—Single tax club. Pres., Geo. W. Cox; sec., Edwin T. Clark, 100 Tremont st.

NEPONSET.—Single tax league. Sec., Q. A. Lothrop, Wood st court, Neponset.

NEWBURYPORT.—Merrimac single tax assembly. Pres., Andrew R. Curtis; sec., Wm. R. Whitmore, 236 Merrimac street.

ROXBURY.—Single tax club. Pres., Frank W. Mendum 141 Hampden st.; sec., W. L. Crozman, 131 Marcella st.

WORCESTER.—Worcester single tax club. Meetings first Thursday of month, at Reform club hall, 98 Front st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., E. K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Monday evening, at the West Hotel. Pres., H. B. Martin, Woods' block; sec., Oliver T. Erickson, 2203 Lyndale av., N.

ST. PAUL.—Single tax club. Pres., H. C. McCartney; sec., Geo. C. Madison, corner East Sixth and Cedar sts.

MISSOURI.

STATE.—Missouri single tax committee. Henry H. Hoffman, chairman. This committee is pushing a State single tax petition. Blanks sent on application. It is also forming syndicate for publication of local single tax papers throughout the United States at little or no expense. Write for circulars to Percy Pepoon, sec., 513 Elm st., St. Louis.

HERMANN.—Single tax committee. Pres., R. H. Hasenritter; sec., Dr. H. A. Hibbard.

KANSAS CITY.—Single tax club. First Sunday of the month, at 3 p. m., at Bacon Lodge Hall, 1204 and 1206 Walnut st. Pres., Herman Hermalink; sec., R. F. Young, Signal Service office.

ST. LOUIS.—Single tax league. Tuesday evenings at rooms of the Clerk of Criminal Court, Four Courts, 12th street and Clark avenue. Pres., Hon. Dennis A. Ryan, 1616 Washington st.; sec., T. J. Smith, 1515 Taylor av.

Benton School of Social Science. Meets every Saturday evening at 6639 Waldemar avenue. Pres., Henry S. Chase; sec., W. C. Little.

NEBRASKA.

WYMORE.—Wymore single tax and tariff reform club. Meetings every Wednesday evening at Union hall. Pres., Julius Hamm; sec. and treas., H. C. Jaynes; P. O. Box 137.

NEW JERSEY.

CAMDEN.—Single tax club. Meets every Saturday evening at Felton hall, n. e. cor. Second and Federal sts. Pres., Aaron Hand; sec., Wm. M. Callingham, 520 Line st.

JERSEY CITY.—Standard single tax club. Meets first and third Thursday of each month at Assembly Rooms, 642 Newark av.

PLAINFIELD.—Single tax club. Pres., John L. Anderson; sec., J. H. McCullough, 7 Pond place.

NEWARK.—Single tax and free trade club. Pres., C. B. Rathburn; sec., M. T. Gaffney, 211 Plane st.

PATERSON.—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 192 Hamburg av. Meetings every Thursday evening at 160 Market st.

VINELAND.—Vineland single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., Rev. Adolph Roeder; sec., Wm. P. Nichols, box 924.

WASHINGTON.—Warren county land and labor club. Pres., A. W. Davis, Oxford; sec., John Morrison, box 272, Washington.

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK.—Manhattan single tax club. Business Meeting first Thursday of each month at 8 p. m. Club rooms, 73 Lexington av.; open every day from 6 p. m. to 12 p. m. Pres. Louis F. Post; sec., A. J. Steers.

BROOKLYN.—Brooklyn single tax club. 198 Livingston st. Address all communications to J. Hickling, treas.

Women's single tax club. Meetings the first and third Tuesdays, 198 Livingston st. at 3 o'clock. Pres., Miss Eva J. Turner; sec., Miss Venie B. Havens, 219 DeKalb av.

East Brooklyn single tax club. Meetings every Monday evening, 448 Central av. Pres., James Hamilton; sec., Jas. B. Connell, 448 Central av.

Eastern District single tax club. Public meeting on first Tuesday in each month, held at Eureka Hall, 378 Bedford avenue. Business meeting first and third Mondays at 94 South Third street. Pres., Joseph McGuinness, 133 S. 9th st., Brooklyn, E. D.; sec., Emily A. Dovernall.

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ALBANY.—Albany single tax club. Meetings Sunday 7:30 p. m., Beaver-Block, cor. Pearl and Norton sts. Pres. F. W. Croake; cor. sec., Geo. Noyes.

BINGHAMPTON.—Tax Reform Association. Pres., John H. Blakeney; sec., Edward Dundon, 33 Maiden lane.

BUFFALO.—Tax Reform Club. Pres., S. C. Rogers; sec. T. M. Crowe, 777 Elk st.

OWEGO.—Pioneer single tax club. Pres., James Ryan sec., James C. Murray.

OWEGO.—Single tax club. Pres., Michael J. Murray sec., Wm. Minchaw, 50 West Main st.

LONG ISLAND CITY.—Freedom association meets evening of every fourth Friday of the month at Schwabenberg's hall, corner Vernon and Borden avs. Sec., T. G. Drake, 215 Kouwenhoven st.

THOY.—Single tax club. Meetings every Thursday evening at 576 River st; Pres., Henry Sterling; sec., B. B. Martie, 576 River st.

WEST NEW BRIGHTON.—Richmond County single tax club. Sec., A. B. Stoddard.

NORTH DAKOTA.

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CLEVELAND.—Single tax club. Meets on call of president at room 703, Society for Saving building. W. F. Bien, sec'y and treas.

DAYTON.—Free land club. Pres., J. G. Galloway sec. W. W. Kile, 106 East 5th st.

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GERMANTOWN.—Single tax club. Sec. E. D. Burleigh, 13 Willow av. Meets first and third Tuesday of each month at Vernon Hall, cor. Main st. and Chelton av., at 8 p. m.

JOHNSTOWN.—Henry George club. Meets every Monday evening for public discussion. Pres., A. J. Moxham sec., S. E. Clarkson.

PHILADELPHIA.—Single tax society. Meets every Thursday and Sunday at 8 p. m. Social meetings second Tuesday, No. 30 South Broad st.; cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 240 Chestnut st.

PITTSBURG.—Pittsburg single tax club. Meets every first and third Sunday evening at 7:30, 64 4th av. Pres. Edm. Yardley; sec. Mark F. Roberts, 140 South 24th st.

POTTSTOWN.—Single tax club. Meetings first and third Friday evenings each month in Weltzenkorn's hall Pres., D. L. Haws; sec., Geo. Auchy, Pottstown, Pa.

READING.—Reading single tax society. Monday evenings, 723 Penn st. Pres., Wm. H. McKinney; sec., C. S. Prizer, 1011 Penn st.

RHODE ISLAND.

PAWTUCKET.—Pawtucket single tax association. Pres. John McCaffrey; sec., Matthew Curran, 64 Main st.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

STATE.—South Dakota single tax association. Pres. Judge Levi McGee, of Rapid City; sec., John B. Hanten Watertown.

BALTIC.—Baltic single tax club. Pres. T. T. Vrenne sec., T. J. Questad.

WATERTOWN.—Single tax club. Pres. Jno. B. Hanten sec., L. E. Brickell. Meetings every Wednesday night in basement Granite block.

TENNESSEE.

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TEXAS.

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HOUSTON.—Houston single tax club. Meetings every Tuesday evening, 7:30, Franklin st. Jas. Charlton, Pres.; E. W. Brown, sec. and treas.

WEST VIRGINIA.

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WISCONSIN.

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VERDICT OF LEADING CRITICS.

Mr. Howells in Harper's Magazine.

At the present we have only too much to talk about in a book so robust and terribly serious as Mr. Hamlin Garland's volume, called "Main-Travelled Roads." That is what they call the highways in the part of the West that Mr. Garland comes from and writes about; and these stories are full of the bitter and burning dust, the foul and trampled slush of the common avenues of life; the life of the men who hopelessly and cheerlessly make the wealth that enriches the alien and the idler, and impoverishes the producer. *If any one is still at a loss to account for that uprising of the farmers in the West, which is the translation of the Peasants's War into modern and republican terms, let him read "Main-Travelled Roads," and he will begin to understand.* . . . He has a fine courage to leave a fact with the reader, ungarnished and unvarnished, which is almost the rarest trait in an Anglo-Saxon writer, so infantile and feeble is the custom of our art; and this attains tragical sublimity in the opening sketch, "A Branch Road," where the lover who has quarrelled with his betrothed comes back to find her mismated and miserable, such a farm wife as Mr. Garland has alone dared to draw, and tempts the broken-hearted drudge away from her loveless home.—W. D. Howells, in the Editor's Study of Harper's Magazine for September.

Louise Chandler Moulton.

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Mr. Flower in the Arena.

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The New England Magazine.

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